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1897

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PUBLICATIONS OF
THE
GRATZ COLLEGE,

I.

PUBLISHED BY THE COLLEGE.
PHILADELPHIA.
1897.

PRESS OF LEVYTYPE COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

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Memoir of Hyman Gratz.

BY MOSES A. DROPSIE, ESQ.,
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

The Gratz College is indebted for its foundation to the benevolence of Mr. Hyman Gratz, who was born in the city of Philadelphia on September 23, 1776. He was the son of Michael Gratz, who resided, at different times, in Philadelphia and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the latter place having attracted a considerable number of business men because of its being an outpost for trade with the Indians.

Michael Gratz was born in Langendorf, in upper Silesia, in 1740, and came to America in 1759. He succeeded to a position vacated by his brother, Barnard Gratz, in the counting house of Mr. David Franks, one of the most prominent merchants in the Colonies. Subsequently the brothers entered into a partnership which lasted until February 7, 1787.

On June 20, 1769, Michael Gratz married Miriam, daughter of Joseph Simon, of Lancaster, whose wife, Rosa Bunn, had come to America with her uncle, Samson Meyers, or Mears, in 1730.

Mr. Simon was the leading merchant and a prominent citizen of the city of Lancaster, the trade of which was chiefly with the Indians. He acquired large tracts of wild lands in the State of Pennsylvania and in the western Territories. He died on January 24, 1804, aged

ninety years, his wife having died previously, on May 3, 1796, in her sixty-ninth year.*

Hyman Gratz became in 1798 the junior partner in the firm of Simon and Hyman Gratz, wholesale grocers, whose place of business was at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market streets, Philadelphia, the building in which Thomas Jefferson wrote the first draft of the Declaration of Independence. The Bank of Penn Township now occupies a part of the site, and the building adjoining on Market street still forms part of the estate of Hyman Gratz, administered by the Board of Trustees of Gratz College.

Their business in various lines was extensive, and they fitted out vessels in the interest of their export and import trade which carried merchandise to and brought it from India, China and other parts of the Orient.

Before canals and railroads were built, the only mode of transportation to the West was by large wagons drawn by six horses, known as "Conestoga wagons."† The extensive traffic of this firm required a large number of such vehicles, familiarly known as "Prairie Schooners."

On January 20, 1818, Mr. Gratz was elected a Director of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, a corporation organized in 1809.

In the first report made to the company it was stated that "Insurance had hitherto been looked upon a trifle askance, as discounting the decrees of Providence."

The business grew slowly, other institutions having been organized for insurance on lives which greatly competed for this kind of insurance. In the course of time

*Many of these particulars have been extracted from *The Jews of Philadelphia*, by Henry S. Morais, Philadelphia, 1894.

†They were so called on account of the breed of large horses raised around Lancaster, which were peculiarly adapted to the purpose.

it was perceived that there was want of an organization that could take charge of and execute Trusts. This power was given to the Company by the Legislature of Pennsylvania on February 25, 1836. Shortly after, on January 17, 1837, Mr. Gratz became the President of the Company. Under his direction the administration of Trusts grew to an enormous extent, and many of the large estates in the city of Philadelphia were committed to its charge, the aggregate of which amounted to many millions of dollars. The Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, the business for which the Company was originally chartered, was gradually abandoned. Mr. Gratz retained the position of President until his death on January 27, 1857.

In recognition of his character and services the Company voted the following resolution :

“Resolved, That they feel deeply sensible of the loss they have sustained in the death of their late President. Mr. Gratz was elected a Director in January, 1818, and appointed President in 1837. He has thus been connected with the Company for upwards of thirty-nine years. During the whole of this period he was most assiduous and attentive in the discharge of the various duties which devolved upon him, and the success and prosperity of the Company are the best evidence of the fidelity and intelligence shown by him in his management. The gentleness and courtesy of his manners and the kindness of his disposition made him universally popular as a man of business and as a companion, and the Board have a melancholy gratification in recording their sense of his merits as an officer, and their regard for him as a friend.”

Mr. Gratz had a love for the Fine Arts, of which he was a liberal patron.

In 1836 he became a Director of the Pennsylvania

Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1841 was made its Treasurer, a position he retained until his death, upon which occasion the following Resolutions were adopted by that institution :

“Resolved, That this Board has received with sincere regret the announcement of the death of their colleague, Mr. Hyman Gratz, for many years a Director and the Treasurer of the Academy.

“That they desire to record their deep sense of his long and valuable services to the institution, his unwearied attention, fidelity and care in the discharge of all his duties as a Director and Treasurer, his constant interest in the progress and judicious development of Art, and the urbanity which characterized his personal intercourse.”

As in secular affairs, so, also, in religious matters did he display the zeal, earnestness and fidelity which were so strongly characteristic of the man.

On September 19, 1824, he was elected Treasurer of the Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel (the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of Jews in the City of Philadelphia), succeeding Hyman Marks in that office, and which he held for thirty-two years. Upon his retirement therefrom, September 28, 1856, resolutions were adopted expressive of the high appreciation of Mr. Gratz's services as Treasurer.

He was a member of the Board of the American Jewish Publication Society, an organization founded in Philadelphia in 1845, the first society of its kind in the United States.

His attachment to his religion, however, was most deeply shown in his own home, presided over by his sister, Rebecca Gratz, where the ancient tenets and practices were faithfully observed. He died on January 27, 1857, in his eighty-first year.

Mr. Gratz had a commanding presence and an erect carriage, being over six feet in height. He was a courteous and polished gentleman, and a leading citizen of Philadelphia, honored and respected by all who knew him.

The following extract from a letter written by one of his grandnieces give a pleasant insight into his character:

“* * * * He was at one time part owner of the Mammoth Cave (Ky.), and one of the original members of the Philadelphia Club (now located at the northwest corner of Thirteenth and Walnut Streets).

“* * * * I remember my uncle as one of the handsomest men I ever saw, and certainly the most imposing. He was like Saul, head and shoulders above his fellow-men. His beautiful white hair and light hat—felt in winter and straw in summer—could be seen for squares on Chestnut Street, which was not then so crowded a thoroughfare as at present. In his own family, he was the most amiable, attentive and courteous gentleman, beloved by a large and ever-increasing number of nieces and nephews, who delighted to gather around his hospitable table, where he presided with so much dignity, always leading the blessings on the Sabbath, and reading the service on the two first nights of the Passover. * * * * His courtesy is remembered by the fact that he never left the office* without turning to the clerks and saying, ‘Good day, gentlemen,’ and if by any chance this was omitted, he would invariably make some excuse for returning before taking his final departure.”

It frequently occurs that resolutions of respect are adopted, and over-drawn eulogies prepared for biographical sketches, but the delineation of the character of Mr. Gratz has not been over-drawn, nor too highly colored by the sacrifice of truth to extravagant and inordinate praise of the departed.

* Referring to the Pennsylvania Company for the Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities.

FIRST REPORT
OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE
GRATZ COLLEGE.

BY MOSES A. DROPSIE, ESQ., *President*.

To the Members of the Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel :

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel, held October 29, 1893, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen stated that shortly after the death of Horace Moses, Dr. I. Minis Hays called upon him as one of the Board, and asked him to notify the congregation that by the death of Horace Moses and the absence of any lawful issue of the said Horace Moses, a trust estate created under a deed of trust between Hyman Gratz and the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, dated December 18, 1856, became vested in the congregation, in trust, for the establishment and support of a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia. Upon motion of Dr. Cohen it was carried that a committee of seven be appointed by the Parnas from among the members of the congregation, with the Hazan, Parnas and secretary as *ex-officio* members, to consider and report on this subject. Mr. Horace A. Nathans, the Parnas, appointed the following gentlemen to compose the committee :

Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, chairman ; Dr. Cyrus Adler.

Mayer Sulzberger, Esq., Gratz Mordecai, Samuel M. Hyne-
man, Esq., Charles J. Cohen, David Sulzberger, Rev. Dr.
Sabato Morais, Hazan, *ex-officio*; Horace A. Nathans, Par-
nas, *ex-officio*; Isaac Feinberg, secretary, *ex-officio*.

In pursuance of this resolution of the Board of Managers
a meeting of the committee was held at 8 o'clock on the
evening of November 18, 1893, at the residence in the
rear of the synagogue, 117 North Seventh Street, with
Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen in the chair; Mr. Feinberg acted
as secretary. A copy of the deed of trust was presented,
the following being that portion thereof under which this
trust became operative:

. . . "If the said Robert Gratz shall die without leaving
any lawful issue, as aforesaid, or if such issue, be there any, shall
die under the age of twenty-one years, then, in trust, to pay over
the net income of the said trust estate in manner aforesaid to
Horace Moses, nephew of the said Hyman Gratz, during the term
of his natural life; and after his decease to stand seized and pos-
sessed of the said trust estate to and for the only proper use and
behoof of the lawful issue of the said Horace Moses, if any, as
shall live to attain the age of twenty-one years, if one person
solely, and if more than one, in equal shares as tenants in com-
mon, his, her, or their heirs and assigns for ever, and in case
there be no such lawful issue of the said Horace Moses, or if any,
none shall live to attain the age of twenty-one years, then to
convey and assign all the said trust estate and premises to the
Portuguese Hebrew Congregation Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel,
of the city of Philadelphia, and their successors, in trust for the
establishment and support of a college for the education of Jews
residing in the city and county of Philadelphia, for which purpose
the rents and income only of the said trust estate shall be used
and applied from time to time, and to and for no other use, intent
or purpose whatsoever."

At this meeting the secretary was instructed to com-

municate with the counsel of the congregation to request him to take the necessary steps to secure a conveyance and assignment of the real estate and securities to the Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel.

The next meeting of the committee was held February 18, 1894, at which the following communication from the Board of Managers of the congregation was received :

“ Resolved, That the committee heretofore appointed to consider the subject of the Hyman Gratz Trust, be authorized on behalf of the congregation to receive the deeds and securities of the trust, and re-deposit the same with the Pennsylvania Company for the Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities in the name of the congregation, as follows: ‘Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel, Hyman Gratz Trust,’ such deposit to continue until the proper method of governing the trust shall have been devised and adopted.”

On April 22, 1894, another meeting of the committee was held, with Dr. S. Solis Cohen in the chair, who presented the following tentative report, which was adopted :

“ Report of the Committee on Gratz Trust to the President and Board of Managers of the Congregation Mickvé Israel :

“GENTLEMEN:—Your committee appointed to consider and report upon the facts connected with the Hyman Gratz Trust estate, and upon the subject of the best means to carry out the trust devolving upon the congregation, respectfully report as follows: The committee met and organized on November 18, 1893 ; it was decided to ask the advice and assistance of the counsel of the congregation, Edward H. Weil, Esq., and request him to take such action as might be necessary in the legal matters pertaining to the transfer of the trust estate from the former trustees to the congregation. His courtesy and attention are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

“ Mr. Gratz directs that the trustees shall establish and maintain a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia.

“ The income of the Gratz Trust is in round numbers \$6,000 per annum. To properly endow a college which shall give instruction in all the branches of a liberal education would require many times that sum, so that the committee decided in the first place, that any plan to be considered must necessarily deal with a college of limited scope.

“ In considering what that scope should be, the fact that the trust is intended for the benefit of Jews, and that its execution is imposed on a Jewish congregation, sufficiently indicate the nature of the work that may be properly undertaken ; namely, the study and teaching of the subjects that appertain to what may be called the Science of Judaism. But even this field is too large to be occupied in full by an institution so limited in its endowment. It may be that hereafter some other liberal and public-spirited Jews will, by additional gifts and bequests, enable the work to be enlarged, and in whatever plan that should be decided upon, it seemed to the committee that the possibility of such enlargement should be borne in mind and the opportunity, therefore, provided. Nevertheless, in coming to a present decision, the committee could only consider present possibilities, and it had, therefore, to select from among the various ways of utilizing the trust in the diffusion of Jewish knowledge that one which seemed on the whole most desirable and most practicable.

“ The committee realized moreover that the greatest mistake it could make would be undue haste in coming to a decision. The college to be established and maintained by the Congregation Mickvé Israel, under the trust of Hyman Gratz, will be, it is hoped, an important factor in the development of Judaism for all time to come. It is far more important that its foundation should be laid in wisdom than that work should be begun to-day or to-morrow. The earlier sessions of the committee were, therefore, devoted largely to general discussion of the educational needs of American Jewish communities in general and that of

Philadelphia in particular, and the means by which those needs might best be supplied.

“It was agreed, that each member should suggest for the consideration of the others, and for discussion in committee, such plans as might seem to him worthy of consideration and discussion, without thereby committing either himself or others to advocacy of the measures discussed. In this way certain projects that seemed desirable were worked out, and some of them found to be impracticable on account of the expense involved or undesirable for other reasons. Without arriving at a definite plan, it finally seemed to be the sense of the committee that it would be desirable to establish a college in which there might be taught to young men and women pursuing secular studies at other schools, certain branches of Jewish knowledge; especially the Hebrew language and something of its literature and the history of Jews and Jewish thought, with the relation of Jewish history and Jewish thought to the general history of civilization. It appeared desirable that this work should be in some measure related with the educational work of the city as a whole and that it might be possible to devise a means of co-operating with the University of Pennsylvania, the public schools and the private academies, wherein the pupils of the college might be studying. It was likewise thought that if the work of the college might in some measure serve to make others than Jews familiar with the true character of Jewish life and thought, it would be beneficial; and that for this reason also, some relation between the college and the general educational activity of the community should be sought.

“The need for teachers of Judaism and Jewish learning was considered by the committee, and the establishment of a limited number of scholarships through which qualified persons might be enabled to pursue Jewish and secular studies coincidently, seemed to be one means of providing for this need.

“A further possibility of usefulness seemed to be open in the establishment of annual lectureships upon topics of Jewish interest, attendance upon such lectures to be made as free and general as

possible. At this stage the deliberations of the committee had arrived, at the time of the semi-annual meeting of the congregation.

"The lack of necessity for haste and the inability of securing the attendance of a member of the committee whose judgment and advice were highly esteemed by his colleagues, prevented the calling of a meeting to put the decisions of the committee into definite formulation. The committee, therefore, had nothing to report except that it was endeavoring to study with becoming deliberation the great problem entrusted to it for solution.

"In accordance with the resolutions of the Board of Managers, adopted at its meeting, November 19, 1893, the chairman of the committee requested the Parnas of the congregation to receive the deeds and securities of the trust, and to re-deposit the same with the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, in the name of the congregation as follows: Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel, Hyman Gratz Trust.

"No moneys or securities have passed through the hands of the committee.

"At the congregational meeting it was decided to appoint a committee, directly responsible to the congregation, and with somewhat enlarged powers, to consider the same subject that you had entrusted to your committee. The congregation instructed the Parnas to appoint with others, as members of that committee, the members of your committee.

"As it would be inadvisable to have two independent organizations, largely composed of the same members, treating the same matter and going over the same ground, your committee, in informing you of the nature and incompleted result of its deliberations, respectfully asks that its accounts be audited, and that it receive its discharge.

(Signed,) "Solomon Solis Cohen, Horace A. Nathans, S. Morais, Samuel M. Hyneman, Gratz Mordecai, Charles J. Cohen, Mayer Sulzberger, Isaac Feinberg."

A copy of the Auditor's Report was presented at this

meeting. The auditor, Mr. Chas. N. Mann, was appointed by the Court of Common Pleas, No. 2, on December 14, 1893; his report was filed March 31, 1894. At the request of the chairman of the committee, the Parnas of the congregation, Horace A. Nathans, Esq., attended the auditor's meeting.

In accordance with the resolution adopted at the semi-annual meeting of the congregation, held April 15, 1894, the Parnas re-appointed the old committee, with the addition of Messrs. Moses A. Dropsie, A. M. Frechie, and Levi Mastbaum. The committee thus constituted was as follows:

Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., chairman; Mayer Sulzberger, Esq., Charles J. Cohen, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Gratz Mordecai, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, Samuel M. Hyneman, Esq., D. Sulzberger, A. M. Frechie, Levi Mastbaum, Horace A. Nathans and Rev. Dr. S. Morais and Isaac Feinberg, *ex-officio*.

The first meeting of the newly constituted committee was held May 7, 1894, at which a resolution was adopted that the committee shall choose a chairman, treasurer and secretary, but that these officers should not hold similar positions in the congregation.

Mr. D. Sulzberger was chosen as secretary of the committee.

The chairman presented the following plan to be submitted to the congregation for adoption:

"To organize the Permanent Committee of the Gratz Trust, the Congregation Mickvé Israel enacts as follows:

"1st. There shall be a permanent Committee, composed of members of the Congregation Mickvé Israel, to be denominated 'The Hyman Gratz Trust of the Kaal Kadosh Mickvé Israel, of Philadelphia,' but in all its acts and proceedings the shorter title,

'The Hyman Gratz Trust,' may be used. The said committee shall be vested with the power and authority necessary to administer and manage the said trust.

"2nd. The principal or corpus of the trust shall be managed by the said committee, who shall receive the income therefrom, invest and re-invest the said corpus in legal securities in the name of 'The Hyman Gratz Trust,' whenever it may deem it necessary, and also to discharge all debts due to the trust.

"3rd. The said committee shall choose a chairman, secretary and treasurer, but these officers shall not hold similar positions in the congregation.

"4th. The said committee shall determine the course and manner of education in the college and schools to be established by it, and the qualifications of applicants to be pupils, and terms for admission ; select the instructors, fix their compensation, and shall be vested with all other powers necessary for the proper administration and management of the college and schools.

"5th. The said committee shall be vested with the power of adopting such rules as it may deem necessary to effectuate the power and authority given to it by the foregoing sections.

"6th. The said committee shall present to each annual meeting of the congregation a full account of its operation and work for the year immediately preceding such meeting, together with a detailed account of its receipts and expenditures, and of the financial conditions of the trust.

"7th. The said committees shall fill all vacancies in its body, but no vacancy shall be filled until the number of the committee shall be less than nine, of which number the said committee shall consist."

The seventh section was amended so as to read as follows :

"7th. If vacancies occur in the committee it shall nominate to

the congregation, and the congregation shall elect from among such nominees persons to fill such vacancies, but no vacancies shall be filled until the number of the committee shall be less than nine, of which number the said committee shall thereafter consist."

At a meeting of the committee held November 29, 1894, it was resolved that a series of lectures be given during the year 1894-95, and that Mr. S. Schechter, Reader in Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge, England, be invited to deliver a number of lectures of this series.

The following amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws were adopted February 6, 1895, directly bearing on the work of the trust:

"*Constitution, Article 1, Section 1.* The congregation shall also elect at its first meeting, after the adoption of this amendment, nine (9) trustees of the college to be established by it, who shall constitute a Board of Trustees of the Gratz College.

"*Section 2.* The Board of Managers and the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College shall have power to fill vacancies which may occur in their own bodies.

"*Article 2, Section 3.* At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College after their election, they shall divide themselves by lot into three classes whose term of office shall be two, four and six years respectively, and at every subsequent (alternate) annual meeting of the congregation three trustees of the Gratz College shall be elected for six years. The election of the trustees shall be by ballot, and those having the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. They shall at the first meeting after their election choose from among their number a secretary, president, and treasurer, none of whom shall hold a corresponding office in the Congregation or Board of Managers; these officers shall serve for one year and until their successors be chosen.

“Article 6, Education. The congregation shall establish, as early as may be, a college for the education of Jews residing in the city and county of Philadelphia. The rules and regulations for the establishment and government of the college shall be prepared and adopted by the Board of Trustees, but shall not be valid until ratified by the congregation. The college, when established, shall be under the government of the Board of Trustees, who shall have the exclusive custody and management by their officers of all funds, assets and general property in anywise applicable to the purpose of the college. All investments and re-investments shall be in the name of the Board of Trustees of the Gratz College.

“By-Laws—Article 12. Board of Trustees of the Gratz College:

“1st. The president shall preside at all the meetings of the Board of Trustees, and in his absence a chairman shall be chosen by the meeting.

“2d. He shall have the general superintendence of the college and of all professors, teachers and salaried officers or employees, and shall report any neglect of duty to a general or special meeting of the Board of Trustees.

“3d. He shall sign all orders drawn upon the treasurer of the Board of Trustees, and countersigned by the secretary, which shall be from a printed order book, having a marginal reference, which reference shall state the sum drawn, for what purpose and the persons in whose favor drawn and the date of the said order.

“4th. The president shall not, without the consent of the Board of Trustees, draw orders on its treasurer to an amount exceeding twenty-five (\$25) dollars, except for the payment of salaries due.

“5th. He shall have the custody of all the title papers, books, papers and seals of the college. He shall, if required, submit them to the inspection of the Board of Trustees at their meetings.

or to the congregation at its annual meeting, and shall within thirty days after the expiration of his term deliver them over to his successor in office.

“6th. The treasurer of the Board of Trustees, before he enters upon the duties of his office, shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of the same, in such sum or sums as the Board of Trustees may deem sufficient, with one or more sureties to be approved by the Board, which bond shall be kept by the president.

“7th. He shall open a regular set of books, and make therein the necessary entries, and keep a true and correct account of all the funds, receipts and disbursements. He shall have the custody of all moneys belonging to the Board of Trustees, which shall be kept in a distinct and separate account, in the name of the Trustees of the Gratz College, —, treasurer. The depository is to be designated by the Board.

“8th. He shall pay all orders drawn on him by the president.

“9th. He shall at every regular meeting of the Board of Trustees submit an exact statement of the receipts and expenditures during the period intervening.

“10th. He shall at all times, when required by the Board of Trustees, give them a statement of the moneys and securities in his hands.

“11th. At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees he shall exhibit his account current of the receipts and payments made during the preceding year, which shall first have been audited by a committee of its Board.

“12th. He shall not pay any sum unless on the order of the president.

“13th. The secretary shall keep correct minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees, and in general perform such other duties as may be required of him by the Board.

“14th. The Board of Trustees shall hold their meetings quarterly, and as often as occasion may require. They shall also hold

an annual meeting within one month prior to the annual meeting of the congregation.

“15th. They shall submit to the congregation, at its annual meeting, a full and complete report of their proceedings for the preceding year.”

In accordance with the above-mentioned articles of the Constitution and By-Laws of the congregation a special meeting was called on February 17, 1895, for the purpose of electing Trustees, when the following gentlemen were chosen: Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Charles J. Cohen, Gratz Mordecai, Samuel M. Hyneman, Horace A. Nathans, A. M. Frechie, D. Sulzberger. In accordance with Section 3 of Article 2 of the Constitution, the committee was divided into three classes, as follows: For two years, expiring February, 1897, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Cyrus Adler and Charles J. Cohen; for four years, Moses A. Dropsie, Horace A. Nathans, D. Sulzberger; for six years, Gratz Mordecai, Samuel M. Hyneman, A. M. Frechie.

The Board of Trustees met immediately after the adjournment of the congregational meeting and organized by choosing Samuel M. Hyneman as temporary chairman, and D. Sulzberger as temporary secretary. An election being held for permanent officers, the following gentlemen were unanimously chosen: Moses A. Dropsie, Esq., president; Charles J. Cohen, treasurer; D. Sulzberger, secretary.

At this meeting the president appointed a committee to prepare a device for a seal, and a committee to devise rules and regulations for carrying on the work of the trust. The treasurer's bond was fixed at ten thousand

dollars, the Real Estate Title Company becoming his sureties.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, held February 24, 1895, the committee appointed by the president to formulate rules and regulations for carrying on the work of the Board, reported the following, which were adopted:

I.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading the minutes of the preceding meeting.
2. Reading of communications.
3. Reports of officers and standing committees.
4. Reports of special committees.
5. Election of officers.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.

II.

All reports shall be in writing.

III.

All votes shall be *viva voce*, except in elections, which shall be by ballot. At the request of two members the yeas and nays shall be called and entered on the minutes.

IV.

MOTIONS TO RECONSIDER.

No motion to reconsider shall be received unless moved and seconded by two members who voted with the majority on the original question; nor shall any reconsideration be had after the meeting next following that in which the business may have been finally acted upon, unless by the unanimous consent of the members present.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

The president, treasurer and secretary shall compose the Committee on Finance. In the inspection of the securities the treasurer and another member of the committee shall be present.*

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Standing Committees shall be appointed by the president at the first stated meeting of the Board next following its annual meeting.

MEETINGS.

The fiscal year shall end on August 15th of each year.

The annual meeting shall be held on the last Thursday in August.

The quarterly meetings shall be held on the second Thursday of February, May, August and November.†

The congregation, through its Parnas, offered the lower synagogue for the use of the college, and a committee was appointed to put the room in proper condition for lectures.

Mr. Horace A. Nathans kindly advanced the amount due to Mr. Schechter for his course of lectures, no arrangements having been made at that time for drawing money out of the trust. The president appointed a committee of three to consider what steps should be taken to carry out the objects of the Gratz Trust. This committee's report was presented at the meeting held on August 29, 1895, and was adopted, as follows:

“The Gratz College shall be devoted to the dissemination of the

* This rule has been altered. The president is now the sole member of the committee.

† These dates have been changed to the last Thursday instead of the second.

knowledge of Jewish history, the Hebrew language, Jewish literature and the Jewish religion.

"The curriculum of the college shall be especially designed for teachers, and upon the successful completion of the course a certificate shall be awarded.

"The subjects to be taught shall include the Hebrew language, Biblical and Mishnic, introduction to the Bible, a history of the text and versions, and a summary of the contents, Jewish history from the most ancient time down to the present, Jewish literature, Jewish religion.

"The instruction shall be given at hours which will not conflict with those of the higher schools and the university.

"The principal method of instruction shall be by regular class teaching.

"An annual appropriation shall be made for building up a library to supplement the collection of Judaica in the Leeser Library.

"The committee was further of the opinion that it would be proper to endeavor to open the college for regular instruction one year hence, October 1, 1896. Meanwhile, the committee recommended that the college contribute towards the promotion of its general objects by another course to be given during the winter of 1895-96. The lectures to be delivered fortnightly, in the synagogue hall, at 8.15 in the evening, and beginning about November 1.

"That there be a Standing Committee of three on Education, to whom the above suggestions be referred, for the consideration of the details necessary for the carrying out of these plans, their recommendations to be laid before the Board of Trustees at its next meeting.

"That if the trustees approve of the recommendations relative to the work during the session of 1895-96, the Standing Committee on Education be authorized to carry them into effect."

This committee reported at the meeting held November 28, 1895, that gentlemen had been selected to lecture

in the course arranged, and that seven of the nine had accepted, as follows: 1895, Rev. Dr. S. Morais, "Italian Jewish Literature;" Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow, "The History and Future of the Text of the Talmud." 1896, Prof. Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, "The Site of Paradise and the Babylonian Nimrod Epic;" Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, of Baltimore, "Jewish Physicians and the Contributions of Jews to the Science of Medicine;" Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, of New York, "The Psalms as Prayers;" Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, "The Hygienic Laws of the Jews;" Dr. Cyrus Adler, of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., "The Jewish Calendar." At the meeting of February 27, 1896, it was decided that the lectures delivered in this course be printed.

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees held June 11, 1896, it was decided that an editor be appointed to print the report of the Gratz College and such lectures as may be obtained, the editor to have full power to supervise the printing thereof, subject only to the Finance Committee in regard to the expenditure to be incurred in publishing the same.

At this meeting it was voted to ask Mr. Joseph Jacobs to deliver a course of lectures in the fall. Mr. Jacobs has acceded to the request of the committee and arrangements to that end are now in progress. The dates have not yet been determined. The subject will be "The Philosophy of Jewish History."

At the annual meeting, held August 27, it was determined that notice be given to the public that the college is desirous of making a pedagogical collection, consisting of school books from Hebrew primers up to Biblical histories, and Hebrew school books in general relating to

the Hebrew language, the Jewish religion, the Bible or Jewish literature.

The trustees were elected at a special meeting and their terms expire previous to the semi-annual meeting in the spring; it is, therefore, suggested that an election for three trustees be held at this annual meeting in place of Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Dr. Cyrus Adler and Mr. Charles J. Cohen, whose terms expire. This election will be for a term of six years.

If the resolution is adopted the terms of the trustees would expire in September, 1898, and September, 1900, and the newly elected trustees' term would end in September, 1902; all subsequent elections for trustees would be held in each even-numbered year.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Amram, David Werner. The Jewish Law of Divorce. Philadelphia, 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-224.

von Chamisso, Adalbert. Faust, a Dramatic Sketch. Translated from the German by Henry Phillips, Jr. Philadelphia, 1881; 8vo; pp. 1-23. One hundred copies printed. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Fürst, Dr. Julius. Bibliotheca Judaica. Bibliographisches Handbuch umfassend die Druckwerke der Jüdischen Literatur, einschliesslich der über Juden und Judenthum veröffentlichten Schriften, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Verfasser bearbeitet, mit einer Geschichte der Jüdischen Bibliographie. Erster Theil, A-H. pp. i-viii; 1-419. Zweiter Theil, I-M. pp. i-vi; 1-409. Dritter Theil, N-Z. pp. i-cvi; 1-664. Leipzig, 1883; 8vo.

Gazzoletti, Antonio. "La Patria dell' Italiano." The Italian's Fatherland. Translated from the Italian by Henry Phillips, Jr. Philadelphia, 1887. Folio Album; pp. 1-36. Privately printed. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Graetz, Dr. H. History of the Jews from the Downfall of the Jewish State to the Conclusion of the Talmud. Translated from the German by Rev.

James K. Gutheim. American Jewish Publication Society. New York, 1873; 8vo; pp. i-xiv; 1-320. Presented by Mrs. Eva Coons.

Hebrew Characteristics. Miscellaneous Papers from the German.

1. Extracts from Jewish Moralists (from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century). From Dr. L. Zunz's "Zur Geschichte und Literatur."
2. Jewish Marriages in Post-Biblical Times. A Study in Archæology, by Dr. Joseph Perles.
3. On the Interment of the Dead in Post-Biblical Judaism. A Study in Archæology, by Dr. Joseph Perles. American Jewish Publication Society. New York, 1875; 8vo; pp. 1-96. Presented by Mrs. Eva Coons.

Hebrew Literature, Miscellany of, London, 1872; 8vo; pp. i-viii; 1-228.

Hebrew Literature, Miscellany of, Edited by the Rev. A. Löwy. Vol. II. London, 1877; 8vo; pp. i-viii; 1-291.

Herzberg, Dr. Wilhelm. Jewish Family Papers; or, Letters of a Missionary. Translated from the German by Rev. Dr. Frederic de Sola Mendes. American Jewish Publication Society. New York, 1875; 8vo; pp. i-vi; 1-260. Presented by Mrs. Eva Coons.

Ibn Ezra. Commentary on Isaiah. Edited from MSS.

and translated with Notes, Introductions and Indexes by M. Friedländer, Ph. D. Translation from the Commentary. Vol. I. London, 1873; 8vo; pp. i-xxvii; 1-332.

Ibn Ezra. The Anglican Version of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, amended according to the Commentary of. By M. Friedländer, Ph. D. Vol. II. London, 1873; 8vo; pp. i; 1-107.

Ibn Ezra. Commentary on Isaiah, with Notes and Glossary, by M. Friedländer, Ph. D. Vol. III. London, 1877; 8vo; pp. i-xiv; 1-157.

Ibn Ezra. Essays on the Writings of, By M. Friedländer, Ph. D. With Hebrew Appendix. London, 1878; 8vo; pp. i-x; 1-330.

Jewish Quarterly Review. Edited by I. Abrahams and C. G. Montefiore. Vols. I.-VIII. London, 1889-1896; 8vo.

Karpeles, Gustave. Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur. Vols. I.-II. Berlin, 1886; 8vo; pp. i-vi; 1-1172.

Maimonides, Moses. The Guide of the Perplexed. Translated from the original text and annotated by M. Friedländer, Ph. D. Vol. I. London, 1881; 8vo; pp. i-lxxx; 1-368. Vol. II. London, 1885; 8vo; pp. i-ix; 1-225. Vol. III. London, 1885; 8vo; pp. i-xxvii; 1-327.

Morris, Harrison S. A sketch of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities. Founded MDCCCIX. Philadelphia, 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-168. Presented by Miss Rose Mordecai.

Pentateuch, The. In Hebrew, with the English translation; with notes by Lion Soesmans, corrected and translated by David Levi. Vols. I, II, III, IV, V. London, 1787; 8vo. Presented by Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan.

Petofi, Alexander. Selections from Poems of. Translated by Henry Phillips, Jr. Philadelphia, 1885; 12mo; pp. 1-31. Privately printed. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Phillips, Henry, Jr. Poems translated from the Spanish and German. Philadelphia, 1878; 8vo; pp. 1-76. One hundred copies printed. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Prayer Books, etc.

NEW YEAR'S SERVICE, with English translation by A. Alexander, London, 1771; 8vo; pp. 1-129. Presented by the Misses Mordecai.

DAY OF ATONEMENT SERVICE, with English translation by A. Alexander. London, 1771; 8vo; pp. 1-275. Presented by the Misses Mordecai.

TABERNACLE SERVICE, with English translation by A. Alexander. London, 1791; 8vo; pp. 1-238. Presented by Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan.

FAST DAYS' SERVICE, with English translation by David Levi. London, 1793; 8vo; pp. i-viii; 1-212. Presented by Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan.

PASSOVER AND PENTECOST SERVICE, with English translation by David Levi. London, 1791; 8vo; pp. i-vii; 1-206. Presented by Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan.

DAILY PRAYERS, revised by E. S. Lazarus, with English translation by Solomon Henry Jackson. New York, 1826; 8vo; pp. 1-234. Presented by Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan.

FIVE ROLLS. Solomon's Song, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastics, and Esther. London, 1787; 8vo. Presented by Miss Rachel Gratz Nathan.

Real-Encyclopadie des Judenthums. Ausgearbeitet von Dr. J. Hamburger. Parts 1-7. Leipzig, 1896; 8vo.

Revue des Etudes Juives. Publication Trimestrielle de la Société des Etudes Juives. Vols. I.-XVI. Paris, 1880-1896; 8vo.

Revue Semitique d'Epigraphie et d'Histoire ancienne. Directeur: J. Halévy. Vols. I.-IV. Paris, 1893-1896; 8vo.

Rollet, Herman. Poems of. Translated from the German by Henry Phillips, Jr. Philadelphia, 1887; 12mo; pp. 1-30. Two hundred copies printed for private distribution. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Schechter, S. Syllabus of a Course of Six Lectures on Rabbinic Theology, delivered before the Gratz College. Philadelphia, 1895; 8vo.

Talmud, Der Babylonische. Herausgegeben nach der editio princeps (Venedig, 1520–23), nebst varianten der späteren von S Lorja und J Berlin revidirten Ausgaben, und der Münchener Handschrift (nach Raab VL) möglichst wortgetreu übersetzt, und mit kurzen Erklärungen versehen von Lazarus Goldschmidt. Berlin, 1896; 4to. The following tractates have thus far been published: **מסכת ברכות, פאה, דמאי, כלאים, תרומות, מעשרות, מעשר שני, חלה, ערלה, בכורים.**

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Bereschit Rabba, mit einer Einleitung von Dr. J. Fürst; Noten und Verbesserungen von demselben und D. O. Straschun, und varianten von Dr. M. Grünwald. Leipzig, 1881; 8vo; pp. i–viii; 1–587.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Schemot Rabba, mit Noten und Verbesserungen von Rabbiner Dr. J. Fürst und D. O. Straschun. Leipzig, 1882; 8vo; pp. i–viii; 1–407.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Wajikra Rabba, mit Noten und Verbesserungen von Rabbiner Dr. J. Fürst. Leipzig, 1884; 8vo; pp. i–x; 1–298.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrash Bemidbar Rabba, mit Noten und Verbesserungen von Rabbiner Dr. J. Fürst. Leipzig, 1885; 8vo; pp. i–vii; 1–676.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Debarim Rabba, mit Noten und Verbesserungen von Rabbiner Dr. J. Fürst und D. O. Straschun. Leipzig, 1882; 8vo; pp. i-x; 1-184.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Schir ha-Schirim. Leipzig. 8vo; pp. i-xii; 1-208.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Echa Rabbat, mit Noten und Verbesserungen von Dr. J. Fürst und D. O. Straschun. Leipzig, 1881; 8vo; pp. i-xi; 1-176.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Ruth Rabba; angehängt sind einige Sagen von Salomo und drei Petrussagen. Leipzig, 1883; 8vo; pp. i-xiii; 1-98.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Kohelet. Leipzig. 8vo; pp. i-xvi; 1-165.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch zum Buche Esther. Eingeleitet und mit Noten versehen von Rabbiner Dr. J. Fürst. Leipzig, 1881; 8vo; pp. i-x; 1-102.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Der Midrasch Mischle. Leipzig, 1885; 8vo; pp. i-ix; 1-77.

Wünsche, Prof. Dr. Aug. Pesikta des Rab Kahana, mit Einleitung und Noten. Leipzig. 8vo; pp. i-xii; 1-300.

PAMPHLETS.

Alliance Israélite Universelle. Bulletin mensuel. Maurice de Hirsch, etc. No. IV. Paris, 1896; 8vo.

Brewster, F. Carroll. Baca. An Address delivered before the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1894; 8vo; pp. 1-32.

Cohen, Rev. Henry. Henry Castro, Pioneer and Colonist. 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-5.

Cohen, Rev. Henry. The Evolution of Jewish Disability. New York, 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-19.

Dropsie, Moses A. On Deform in Judaism and on the Study of Hebrew. Philadelphia, 1895; 8vo; pp. 1-7. Six copies. Presented by the author.

Esperanto, Dr. An Attempt towards an International Language. Translated by Henry Phillips, Jr. Together with an English International Vocabulary compiled by the translator. New York, 1889; 8vo; pp. 1-56. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Felsenthal, Dr. B. Jüdische Fragen. Beiträge zur Klärung derselben. Chicago, 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-40. Two copies.

Friedenwald, Herbert, Ph. D. A Letter of Jonas Phillips to the Federal Convention. Jacob Isaacs

and his Methods of Converting Salt Water into Fresh Water. Memorials presented to the Continental Congress. Baltimore, 1894; 8vo; pp. 107-127. Presented by the author.

Friedenwald, Herbert, Ph. D. Jews mentioned in the Journal of the Continental Congress. Baltimore, 1893; 8vo; pp. 65-89. Presented by the author.

Jastrow, Prof. Morris, Jr. The Element בִּשְׁת, in Hebrew Proper Names. Philadelphia. 8vo; pp. 19-30.

Jastrow, Prof. Morris, Jr. "The Men of Judah" in the El-Amarna Tablets. Philadelphia. 8vo; pp. 61-72.

Jastrow, Prof. Morris, Jr. The Excavations at Sendschirli and some of their Bearings on the Old Testament. Philadelphia. 8vo; pp. 407-417.

Jewish Publication Society of America. Fourth Biennial Report. Philadelphia, 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-25.

Phillips, Henry, Jr. A Catalogue of the New Jersey Bills of Credit, comprising their amounts, denominations, and the names of the persons appointed to sign them from 1723 to 1786. Philadelphia, 1863; 8vo; pp. 1-8. Two copies. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Phillips, Henry, Jr. An Account of the Congo Independent States. Philadelphia, 1889; 8vo; pp. 459-476. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Phillips, Henry, Jr. An Historical Sketch of the Paper Money issued by Pennsylvania, together with a complete list of all the dates, issues, amounts, denominations and signers. Philadelphia, 1862; 8vo; pp. 1-40. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Phillips, Henry, Jr. Worship of the Sun. The Story told by a Coin of Constantine the Great. Philadelphia, 1880; 4to; pp. 1-8. Privately printed. Presented by the estate of Henry Phillips, Jr.

Ruskay, Esther J. Necessity of a Jewish Home Background for Jewish Sunday-School Children. New York, 1896; 8vo; pp. 1-13.

Zion Association of Baltimore, Md. Constitution of. Baltimore, 1894; 12mo; pp. 1-22.

APPENDIX II.

SYNOPSIS OF LECTURES.

A COURSE OF SIX LECTURES ON RABBINIC THE-
OLOGY, BY S. SCHECHTER, M.A., READER
IN RABBINIC IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

LECTURE I.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1895.

The Difficulties of the Subject.—Short bibliography of the sources for the subject, dating from four successive periods—The theological value of the Talmud not sufficiently appreciated. *External Difficulties.*—The compilatory character of the Talmud and the Midraschim—The unsatisfactory state of the texts and their fragmentary character—Lack of documents from the earliest period—Some remarks about a lost book containing miraculous narratives—Miracles in disrepute in the times of the Rabbis—Reminiscences of theological controversies from the old schools—Short sketch of the life of a Rabbi, an older contemporary of Jesus and the Apostles. *Internal Difficulties.*—Want of a formal system and precision—Theology communicated in fits and starts—Want of consistency—A certain indifference and insensibility to theological niceties.

LECTURE II.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1895.

Surprise of the Jewish student at the assertion of Christian theologians of the remoteness of the Jewish God—

Weber in his "Das System der altsynagogalen Palästinensischen Theologie" the chief exponent of this theory—The remoteness of God from the world is denounced by the Rabbis as a Pagan idea—Appellatives of God in Rabbinic literature—Other appellatives placing God in Heaven—A mystical passage referring to the abode of God—Necessity of separating theosophistic fables from theology proper—Distance does not imply with the Rabbis remoteness—Other appellatives of God as Space and Master of the World, etc.—The Rabbis did not permit God to lose Himself in the world or be confused with man, hence their objection to anthropomorphisms in the Bible—Objections again to the deification of man—Unconscious Hellenistic influences—The embarrassment of the Rabbis on realizing their consequences—The Rabbis enforce the pronounciation of the Tetragrammaton in the prayers, thus keeping the relation between God and man intact—The special and mutual relation between God and Israel—God's paternal relation to Israel unconditional—The doctrine of Israel's selection—Objections to it—Israel's claims to the privilege of the First-born in the Kingdom of God, but not to the exclusion of other nations.

LECTURE III.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1895.

The Kingdom of God in Rabbinical literature—Two aspects visible and invisible—God creates the world with the purpose of establishing His Kingdom in it—Sin incompatible with the Kingdom of God—The Kingdom of God means the knowledge of God and the realization of

His nearness—Abraham the Patriarch the first preacher of the Kingdom—The re-establishment of the Throne of God in the world by Israel's receiving the Torah—The Kingdom of God is universal and in *this* world—The Kingdom of Israel with the Messiah at its head—The fixed elements of this Kingdom—The Kingdom of God becomes confused with the Kingdom of Israel, certain features of the latter being foisted on the former—Gain and loss by this confusion—Israel only a nation by its religion, not by race, or by any political combinations—The Kingdom of God incompatible with bad government and social misery.

LECTURE IV.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1895.

The invisible Kingdom of God—Spiritual and individualistic—The yoke of the Kingdom of God as received by the reading of the *Shema* and Prayer. The unity of God as it is expressed in the *Shema* means the exclusion of any element interfering between God and man—The yoke of the Kingdom not a burden—The longing of the typical Rabbi for the moment when he could confirm his daily professions of his allegiance to the Kingdom by fact—The love of Israel to God even under trials and misery—Mystical passages from later Rabbinic authors about the meaning of the love of God—Mysticism not sufficiently to be trusted as a factor in the erection of the Kingdom—The visible Kingdom of more importance to Judaism—The Law received its authority from the Kingdom—Jewish standpoint—The rendering of the Hebrew word Torah "law" incorrect and misleading—The Law

is only a part of the Pentateuch—Torah extends to the whole of the Scriptures—Torah considered as a whole—Its identification with “the wisdom”—The personifications of the Torah—The poetical descriptions of the act of the Revelation—Torah as the pedagogue.

LECTURE V.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1895.

The Torah as law in particular—The 613 Commandments—Current views about them—Many of them obsolete—Divided into different groups—They extend over the whole life—Give unity and harmony to Jewish life—Not a curse, but a blessing—The joy and enthusiasm about the Law—Its motive is *not* reward—Love of the Rabbi for the practical application of principles which brought on him the calumination of the “virtuoso”—The room for individualism within the Law—The Law prepares for righteousness and also forms a part of it, but does not exhaust it—Imputed righteousness—The merits of the Fathers.

LECTURE VI.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1895.

Sin—Its effects—Imputed sin—The *Yezer Hara*—Repentance—Reward and punishment—Suffering—Theodicies—Idealization of suffering—The sufferings of the Deity—Motive of action in the later Rabbinic mystic literature—Resumé—Some concluding remarks.

A COURSE OF SEVEN LECTURES. 1895-96.

LECTURE I.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1895.

BY

THE REV. SABATO MORAIS, LL.D.,

ON

ITALIAN JEWISH LITERATURE.

The adequate treatment, in a single lecture, of a subject covering the literary labors of many centuries, is an impossibility.

The early existence of schools and synagogues in pagan Rome can be proved by the recorded actions of men, who ranked high among the sages of the Mishnah.

The victories attained by Christianity under an imperial banner were the forerunners of sufferings to Italian Jews.

A remarkable instance of the potent sword of a conqueror yielding to the claims of the pen of the learned.

Italy scatters abroad the seeds of Jewish knowledge, whereby Hebrew congregations in Germany improve scholastically and spiritually.

The first who attempted to make the Hebrew language the vehicle of scientific discussion, was an Italian, whose escape from an imminent danger borders on the romantic.

The first Talmudic lexicon systematically arranged at Rome early in the eleventh century, improved upon in America towards the end of the nineteenth century.

A most versatile genius in Rome, who justly fell under the ban of Rabbinitism, the zealous guardian of Jewish morality.

A critic, who arose when Italian Jews were unprepared to appreciate literary criticism, authoritatively declared in our days sound in judgment and most erudite.

Some passing allusions to a useful work which reckons the number of literati that Italy has produced among her Jewish inhabitants.

A poet, intensely Jewish in sentiments, who possesses a complete mastery of the Italian language, and who is a patriot, believing in the efficacy of revolutions as conducive to religious liberty.

Concluding remarks.

LECTURE II.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1895.

BY

THE REV. DR. M. JASTROW,

ON

THE HISTORY AND FUTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE
TALMUD.

The Talmud a collection of laws and discussions—Historically divided into Mishnah and Gemara—Logically divided into two elements; the legal element, *Halacha*, and a motley of incidental observations on all possible topics, called for convenience, *Agadah*.

1. History of the text:

- (a) In the days preceding the reduction to writing.
- (b) In the course of copying by hand.
- (c) In the days of printing.

(A) Verbal fidelity of tradition.

Chain of authorities religiously preserved—Nevertheless variations and corruptions—Their causes :
 (a) Migration, especially from Palestine to Babylonia and *vice versa*—Glossaries—(b) Uncertainties of memory ; discrepancies of reports.

(B) The main variations and corruptions begin with reduction to writing—Copyists more or less intelligent or more or less conscientious—Persecutions and migration not conducive to ease of mind—The Talmud itself persecuted—Interdicts and stakes.

(C) Printing the Talmud begun 1494—Typographical deficiencies—Unskilled proof-reading—Secrecy—With the removal of the interdict begin censorial changes—As a whole, printed texts superior to manuscripts extant—Modern textual criticism, its excellencies and its deficiencies—Sad condition of the Palestinean Talmud (Y'rushalmi).

2. Future of the Talmudic text :

Material for textual criticism—With it a nearly correct edition possible—Demands of higher criticism—Geological strata of consecutive stages inextricably fused—Specimens of strata—"Original Talmud" neither possible nor desirable—Need of differentiation of the consecutive layers by different type—A work requiring the co-operation of the ablest scholars.

LECTURE III.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1895.

BY

PROF. PAUL HAUPT, PH.D., OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY,

ON

THE SITE OF PARADISE AND THE BABYLONIAN
NIMROD EPIC.

Various aspects of the story of Paradise: Theological, philosophical, linguistic, geographical, folk-lore.

More than eighty different theories regarding the site of Paradise: North pole, Polynesian Island, Canaries, Cashmere, Delta of the Indus, Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Scandinavia, Eastern Prussia, foot of Saint Gothard in Switzerland, etc.

All theories deficient in three respects:

1. They try to harmonize the Biblical description with actual geographical conditions; but from a scientific point of view the question is not, Where was Paradise? but only, Where did the Biblical narrator think that Paradise was situated?
2. They do not strictly adhere to the principle that the words used in the description of Paradise must have the same meaning that they always have in other passages of the Old Testament.
3. They confuse Biblical and extra-Biblical ideas. We must distinguish between the Hebrew conception of Paradise and the primitive Babylonian view.

According to the views of the Babylonians, as we find them in the Babylonian Nimrod epic, Paradise, with the fountain of life, was situated not at the head of four rivers, but at the mouth of the rivers.

We find the same idea in the Oriental legends concerning Alexander the Great, which are ultimately derived from the Babylonian Nimrod epic. Pseudo-Callisthenes' Story of Alexander. Talmudic references. Syriac legends. Nimrod epic. El-Khidr in Mohammedan folklore.

Tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the Biblical narrative.

Garden of Eden transferred by the Hebrews from the mouth of the rivers to the head of the rivers, because, according to the ideas of the Hebrews at the time of the Captivity, God dwelled in the North.

Gihon the imaginary upper course of the Nile, in the Asiatic region east of the Tigris.

The Pison, flowing around Havilah (i. e. Southern Arabia), is the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

The gold of Havilah (including the Ophir gold of Solomon), came from the Sabeen colonies in Mashonland, in Eastern Africa, opposite Madagascar.

Biblical story of Paradise contains profound religious truth in allegorical form.

LECTURE IV.

MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1896.

BY

DR. A. FRIEDENWALD, OF BALTIMORE,

ON

JEWISH PHYSICIANS AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF
JEWS TO THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE.

1. Medicine of the Old Testament.

a Brief reference to Egyptian medicine to show that

it did not influence Jewish medicine in its early development.

b Moses the pioneer in public hygiene.

c Medicine of the prophets ; references to the cure of disease by natural means.

d The Essenes and their methods of curing disease.

2. Talmudic medicine. The early schools established by the Jews for the cultivation of medicine. Brief reference to medical knowledge acquired by the Jews during Talmudic times. Rabbi Ishmael a pioneer in anatomical research.

3. The contributions of Jewish physicians in the development of Arabic medicine.

a Maser Djawen, Isaac ben Emran, Joshua ben Nun.

b The march of Arabic medicine to Western Europe and the part the Jews took in promoting its extension in that direction. Meshullum ben Kalonymos, Joseph ben Gorion, Moses ben Jehuda, Todros of Narbonne, Joseph ben Levi, Zedekias. Isaac Soleiman (d'Israeli), Shabatai Donolo.

4. The school of Salemun. This school was mainly established by Jewish physicians, aided by Greek and Arabic physicians.

5. Spanish Jewish physicians of the 10th century : Chasdai ben Shaprut, Haroun of Cordova, Jehuda Chayyug, Amram of Toledo.

6. Medicine of the Rabbis. They founded the plan of the

medical school of Montpellier. Jonah ben Ganach.
Ebn Zohar, Aben Esra, Jehuda ibn Tibbon, Moses
ben Maimon.

7. The medical schools of Montpellier and Paris.
8. The activity of Jewish physicians in Italy, France
and Germany.

LECTURE V.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1896.

BY

THE REV. DR. K. KOHLER, OF NEW YORK,

ON

THE PSALMS AS PRAYERS.

The Psalms—the world's treasury of song, the text-book of religious devotion for all ages.

Their place in the world's literature; their value as lyric song. Comparison with the Aryan Vedas, and Gathas, and the Babylonian hymns. Music and song of the *Semite*.

King David and the Levites: Historical fact or legend?

True character and object of the various Psalms: Who is the subject, the I and the We? Whose plaintive cry and praise are echoed in most of them? The Congregation of the Saints or Humble Ones, the righteous and godly ones opposed to the wicked and ungodly.

The authorship and age of their composition and collection. Pre-exilic or post-exilic? Their use in the temple and in the synagogue of the saints.

Their headings: The Levitical singers; their division, Maccabean songs; their influence upon synagogue and church; congregational responses.

Human and world-embracing character of the psalter.

Use of the psalms in the synagogue ritual for private devotion and on special occasions. Their prominence in the early church liturgy, among the Karaite and Abyssinian Jews (Falashas). Significant prominence given to the psalms in the divine service; the psalms preceded the prayers.

Their appreciation by Christian writers; modern research discovered the keynote; the Hebrew psalter created the church and made it one; it offers the basis for the church universal, the congregation of all saints; did or does the Jew fully appreciate and use the psalm book sufficiently? The law and the prophets appeal to reason; the psalms to the *emotion*; we need more spirituality; familiarize old and young again with the sweet music of David's harp.

Literature: the Commentaries by Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Olshausen, Graetz, Cheyne, especially his Bampton Lectures on the Psalms, Baethgen, Schaff's Bible by Lange, Cambridge Bible: Kilpatrick and S. Beer: Individual and Gemeinde-psalmen. Marburg, 1894. Gruenwald: Ueber den Einfluss der Psalmen auf die Entstehung der Katholischen Liturgie, 1890. Frankfurt a. M. Joel Mueller: *Masechet Soferim*.

LECTURE VI.

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1896.

BY

DR. SOLOMON SOLIS-COHEN,

ON

THE HYGIENIC LAWS OF THE JEWS.

Scope of the inquiry: Facts to be ascertained before explanations can be offered.

I. Jews compared biostatistically with (a) other races, (b) other religions. Mental and moral qualities cannot be excluded, as these act and are acted upon by physical conditions. "General impressions" unsafe guides; individual experience, even if accurately recorded, insufficient, and conclusions based thereon fallacious. Available statistics limited, fragmentary and inaccurate. Legoyt's researches and conclusions not materially expanded or modified by later writers. The Jews of Europe exhibited from 1830 to 1880 a greater increase of births over deaths, preponderance of males, a lower birth-rate, less marriages, fewer illegitimate births, a lower death-rate, especially among children, and a greater average longevity than any other races or religions. This superiority is declining, and markedly so in America, according to Billings and Solomons. Jews generally exhibit less liability to parasitic and epidemic diseases, especially the filth diseases, such as cholera; their alleged relative immunity from tuberculosis is not proved. Modern Jews are especially liable to diabetes mellitus and diseases of the nervous system.

II. A. Vital superiorities or defects must be due to physiologic peculiarities or to special mode of life. Do Jews possess original or acquired physiologic peculiarities beneficial or detrimental? Is their mode of life different from that of other races and religions, and in what respects? *The customs of the Jews, in so far as these differ from the customs of their neighbors, are of a character having a directly beneficial influence upon health—physical, mental, and moral; and their adoption in principle or detail by others has lowered the general death-rate and increased the general average longevity.* The hostile environment in which Jews have been placed for two thousand years is a pos-

sible and probable factor in the production of nervous diseases and certain pathologic tendencies and liabilities.

It is probable that certain original physiologic peculiarities intensified by peculiar customs, and certain acquired physiologic immunities and pathologic tendencies have, under the operation of natural selection in a hostile environment, become organized into hereditary characteristics, but that the continuous operation of peculiar customs is necessary to maintain the transmissibility of acquired physiologic immunities.

B. The peculiar customs are in origin religious rites, and only arbitrarily can a definite class of hygienic precepts be separated from the mass of ritual legislation. This inquiry cannot enter into moot questions of archæology, theology, or history. The purpose of a law must be judged by its effect; some ceremonial institutions have moral effect only, some have hygienic effect only, some have both, and some precepts ordinarily classed as rules of morality have important hygienic results.

Two great classes of laws (and customs) may be made for convenience in study :

A. Rest laws.

B. Purity laws.

Rest laws include Sabbath, festivals, certain ordinances concerning women, land laws, prohibition of interest, and various social and economic laws, customs, and precepts.

Purity laws include rules of public, domestic, personal, and sexual cleanliness, priestly and ritual purifications, circumcision, marriage laws, food laws, removal of leaven, segregation of lepers, destruction of infected houses, etc.

Consideration of Rest laws in detail: The importance of rest and of recreation; the wisdom of joining these with spiritual elevation; the preservation of the maternal vigor necessary to the perpetuation of the race; the effect upon national health of laws restraining avarice.

Consideration of Purity Laws in detail: Their benefit to individual and community; the idea of holiness; the principles of disinfection and segregation; hygiene and morality reciprocally strengthened by association; the developmental value of discipline in self-restraint. Food laws: clean and unclean animals; the methods of *shech-itah*; "Koshering" of meat; *Eber minhachay*; superstitions connected with blood-drinking; applicability of hygienic legislation beyond Palestine; effect of disregard of certain customs by modern Jews; influence of "asepsis" on modern surgery and obstetrics; what must be expected from the general adoption of Jewish ritual legislation concerning infected houses, sewage, food, baths, and washing of hands; *typhoid fever, cholera, the majority of septic and parasitic diseases would disappear; tuberculosis would be materially diminished.*

LECTURE VII.

MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1896.

BY

DR. CYRUS ADLER, OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
ON

THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

Time divisions mentioned in the Bible in the pre-exilic period; designations of the months; their number in the year; they were lunar months; evidence of this fact both historical and philological; the early Jewish lunar year was a bound lunar year, *i. e.*, with correction to solar

time ; proof from the fact that the great feasts had reference to the seasons.

The Babylonian calendar: Adopted in part by the Jews about the time of the Exile (586-537 B. C.); names of the Jewish months now current, of Babylonian origin ; their meaning.

Empirical method of determining the beginning of a month ; the details of the practice preserved in the Mishna and Talmud ; practice still in use in Mohammedan countries.

Computation employed in early times : Jews acquainted with astronomy ; Samuel of Nehardea (180-257 C. E.) prepares tables ; combination of computation and observation ; political reasons for retaining the empirical method ; the calendar of Hillel ; its publication (350 C. E.) necessitated by the wide dispersion of Israel and by other political conditions ; far-reaching consequences of this publication.

Other calendars with which it is connected : The Metonic cycle ; the Egyptian calendar ; the Julian calendar ; the relation of the Council of Nice to the calendar ; the Gregorian calendar ; great significance of calendars in connection with national and political life.

The calendar of Hillel occasioned dispute : It was, however, adopted and served to unify dispersed Israel ; its accuracy accepted by Jewish historians, scholars and all Jewish communities.

Doubts, however, cast upon it by astronomers ; source of error ; quantity of error ; great importance of accuracy of the calendar ; it is the institution upon which the unity of Israel rests ; modification of the calendar of Hillel prepared by astronomical experts and accepted by an universal synod suggested.

ITALIAN JEWISH LITERATURE,

BY

SABATO MORAIS, LL.D.

Hazan K. K. Mickvé Israel, Philadelphia.

President of the Faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

ITALIAN JEWISH LITERATURE.

BY SABATO MORAIS, LL.D.

Ladies and Gentlemen :—It would be the height of presumption on my part to suppose that I could gratify the desire of brothers and sisters in faith, who anticipate leaving this spot even with simply a tolerable knowledge of the labors of Italian Jews in the field of Hebrew literature. Were this effort of mine repeated upon the same topic a score of times, it would prove inadequate to the purpose. Conscious of that indisputable fact, I crave in advance the kind indulgence of my audience, if the information received will unavoidably be meagre and of light value. Deeming preliminary remarks of a greater length unnecessary, I shall begin to say the little that can be said during the hour allotted to my talk.

The legitimate heirs of Abraham's holy heritage, hurled down from Zion's hill, denied the privilege of breathing the air which had resounded with the voice of prophets, bent under a burden of grief, found beyond their native hearth, some restorative under the smiling sky of Italy. But more than the charms of nature, the free exercise of religious rites was a source of comfort to the exiles. They could follow the Mosaic ordinances, and publicly rehearse, without hindrance, the glorious Psalter, inspiring manly fortitude and thankfulness for God's unending mercies. In Rome, where Jews became numerous, the Synagogue—an object of idle curiosity at the outset—attracted, by its striking simplicity, the highest among the heathen population. The voluntary embracing of Judaism grew to be an ordinary occurrence. Interdicted by some emperors, under penalty of the rack

and the gibbet, conversions to the Abrahamic faith obtained, nevertheless, the countenance of other potentates, to a degree exciting alarm.

But neither the invectives of contemporary historians, nor the raillery of satirists, deterred the aged Veturia from casting away the idols of her own people, and bowing at the shrine of the God of Israel. The tombstone discovered in an ancient cemetery, with an inscription which commended the zeal that she had displayed towards the minor Sanctuary, evidences a state of tolerance not found everywhere in the present age, which boasts of a matchless enlightenment.

Aside, however, from the circumstance that illustrious proselytes entered the Jewish fold, strong proofs of the popular good-will enjoyed in pagan Rome by the exiles of Palestine, at longer or shorter intervals, are offered by the testimony of Mishnic Rabbis, who met there flourishing schools. Thus, the famous son of Yochaï, whose life has been enwrapped in a mystic veil of legendary lore—the supposititious hero of Zoharism—journeying as far as the seven-hilled city, chose to succeed Mathias, son of 'Harash, as chief of a well-established college.

But the religious rights granted, at times, by Imperial Rome to the descendants of the Judean captives, the facilities given them to cultivate sacred literature, and develop latent capacities for commercial and political sciences, were rudely withdrawn soon after the portentous event of the fourth century changed Paganism into Christianity. The royal crown placed upon the Trinity became a crown of thorns that cut sharply into the flesh of believers in The Unity. Taxation and humiliation, plunder and murder, gained the approval of ruling monarchs, on the plea of avenging a faith whose alleged

founder a judicial body had seen fit, ages before, to condemn as a self-acknowledged agitator. The laws of nature were outraged. Sons and daughters might rebel against parental discipline, maltreat and rob the authors of their lives—the water of baptism washed away all iniquities. Such monsters claimed and obtained a full share of the parental estate. Woe to the Hebrews who dared disown their apostatized offspring!

But national wrongs are the forerunners of national ruin. The rumbling of the ominous—the terrific—thunder is heard. Goths and Huns and Alans and Vandals knock at the gates of the eternal city. Resistless is the power of the barbaric hordes. The mistress of the world vanquished, stripped of even a vestige of her former glory, lies prostrate. The race to which she has given birth, the Latin race, once the terror of Phœnicia and Greece, of Judea and Gallia, loses its identity. It blends indistinguishably with nationalities unknown to the Cæsars.

Not so with a residue of the race, whose ancestors Titus compelled to crouch and crawl in fetters beneath his triumphal arch. Indestructible amidst a prevailing destruction, the Roman Jews tenaciously hold to their characteristic distinctiveness. Crushed, they rebound and walk with a lighter gait after the extinction of the family of Constantine, the first Christian king, and the weak and wicked successors of that dynasty.

When later, in the sixth century, the Lombards, rushing down from their icy mountains, overran the charming peninsula, and, like a torrent, swept off Gothic tribes, still contending for supremacy, the outcasts of Judea had extended beyond the Tiber, and settled upon the Arno and the shores of the Adriatic.

The first ruler, however, to evince in a notable manner his appreciation of Italian Israelites, was the mighty conqueror who set upon his head a triple crown, Charlemagne, the Emperor of the Franks, Germans and Italians. Europe saw, then, a phenomenon. It beheld a dreaded chief that marshalled his legions to the scenes of carnage, turn away from the horrid din of battle, lay aside the armor, and bend to listen to the imparting of persuasive wisdom. The palace in which he dwelt rivalled the *Stoas* of Athens. Academicians sat and taught. Laurels were woven for the brows of the sages. Justly, it may be said, that his love for learning, more than the military prowess, or the administrative talents he exhibited, gave the grandson of Charles Martel a claim to the epithet of "Great." In the ninth century his countrymen were not the scientists and literati of the nineteenth. Ignorance reigned supreme among Teutonic tribes. To dethrone it became the ambition of Charlemagne. Italy could best supply the instruments with which to accomplish so noble a purpose, and those humanizing agencies were eagerly seized.

Among the distinguished scholars, whose intercourse the enterprising monarch sought, was a native of Rome, residing at Lucca, in Tuscany,—Moses, son of Kalonymos. History has not told what were the inducements which led the Italian Jew to make his home in Mentz. Probably his acquaintance with Western and Eastern languages, cultivated by Jews, which he could readily teach, or his familiarity with arithmetic, imperatively demanded in commercial transactions—then left almost exclusively in Jewish hands—may have promised the Rabbi a lucrative position in a foreign land.

But a higher motive may have combined in prompting

the righteous Moses of Lucca to relinquish early associations and emigrate to a far-off country. The love he bore Israel could not have been narrowed down within the limits of the Arno and the Tiber. Every one loyal to Monotheism must have commanded his sympathies, and he would sanctify the knowledge possessed by bidding it to become a lever for upraising the oppressed. Royal favors enjoyed must subserve a sublime end—the elevation of co-religionists brought to a lowly condition.

Even prior to the reign of Charlemagne, congregations of Israel existed on the Rhine, but they endured great hardships, through Christian persecution. So it is attested by an old Hebrew record found in Italy, and transcribed by that profound searcher of Jewish antiquities, the indefatigable Samuel David Luzzatto. It runs nearly thus: "The Lord showed His pity to a small remnant of us, when he sent here the emperor Charlemagne, ruler of France, to whom peoples bowed. That king took along from Lucca Rabbi Moses, a Roman, who caused a residue of Jews in Germany to have permanence, and who gathered there together a larger number of the outcasts of Judea. Charlemagne entered into an agreement with them, whereby holy institutions revived in Germany, and that same Italian Rabbi became their chief. May God ascribe that to the merit of both the sage and the king!"

Unfortunately, posterity has not been allowed to enjoy the instruction of that mediæval preceptor. The monument of Hebrew erudition that he may have left, the merciless hand of time has caused to crumble into dust. But we know that Rabbi Moses, son of Kalonymos, and his immediate successors, are the reputed authors of devo-

tional outpourings that flowed in a pure channel—the Ashkenazic olden formulary of prayers.

Nine centuries of the common era had glided by, and while the activity of intellectual giants in the East, in the academies of Sura and Pumbeditha, broadened the field of Jewish culture, the works of the learned in the West were, perhaps, mouldering in some dark corners of Rabbinical schools. Still, Judaism, which has cause to lament irreparable losses in the domains of literature, may rejoice over the preservation of remnants, small though they be, of the writings of a Hebrew entitled to pre-eminence. Judaism, which does not shackle the mind, in order to bear undisputed sway, may point to such fragments as evidences of the freedom of thought, not less than of the extensive knowledge, existing among Italian Jews, as far back as the tenth century. For then arose Shabbethai Donnolo, astronomer, physician and philosopher. That scientist labored under a pardonable weakness; he craved for posthumous honors. Hence, he took special pains to be remembered by generations yet unborn. In an acrostic to the preface of one of his commentaries, the writer gives all readers the necessary information about his birthplace and parentage. He adjures future copyists most solemnly to represent him aright, when he would be no longer among the living. But—see the freaks of fortune! A copyist, mistaking two Hebrew letters of the author's name for one, transformed him into another person, and ignorance of ancient geography transferred his land beyond the Apennines. It was left for the great savant of our age, and his eldest son, Philoxène Luzzatto—that meteor so luminous, but destined, alas, to vanish as rapidly—to return to their compatriot his proper name and the land which he claimed.

Shabbethai Donnolo, of Oria, was the first Jew who wrote on science in the Hebrew language. His history borders on the romantic. It was a period when the Crescent and the Cross measured strength; a time of ferocious wars and atrocious reprisals, of ruthless attacks and relentless repulses; a time of hecatombs of human victims at the shrine of hatred of race and greed of gold.

The followers of Mahomet, intoxicated with victories, trod down the fertile plains of Southern Europe. The city of Oria felt their iron heel. Donnolo, though young, could remember the slaughter of ten of his most distinguished co-religionists, and the forcible seizure of his whole family. Carried away as slaves, he alone, by design, or casualty, lingered behind in the hands of his captors. Providence would not suffer that light to be quenched. At Taranto, close to Naples, deliverance came. How very great the merit of the merciful deed, which kept us alive a Jew who, single-handed, set up on high the standard of Jewish literature! For Donnolo learned well how to mould the language of the Scriptures, that it might further the claims of science, as well as those of traditionalism. His passion was astronomy, and to gain proficiency in it he studied Greek and transcribed the thoughts of Hipparchus and the problems of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Knowing that Chaldea had traced out, in the days of antiquity, the path of the planets through the boundless space, the Italian ventured to travel to distant lands, till he sought and found what he yearned for. He engaged a Babylonian teacher, master of the science which he fondly loved.

Then a work upon the course of celestial bodies issued from his pen. An author, living about a century after, cited it as *Sépher Ha Mazzaloth* ("The Book of Constella-

tions"). Another work of Donnolo is a comment on a treatise discussing the origin of the world and man. By a process of reasoning, the writer, unintentionally perhaps, approaches the Kabbalistic theory of emanations, or, to be more explicit, he supports the fallacious idea that God did not create all things out of absolute nothing. He holds that from what is inherent in God's nature—if the expression itself be not impiety—The Omnipotent formed every object in nature. Thus, air, water, fire and earth—the four essential elements of the ancients—are so many parts evolved from the Divine essence, extending and reproducing themselves in a manner inconceivably vast. The daring thinker tries to elucidate the views brought forth, by calling to his aid the richness of his scientific resources. But the Italian savant, wishing to explain what will always remain inexplicable to the finite understanding, has robbed our God-inspired Moses of the unique merit of having imparted lessons that shield the mind from the disturbances of internal assaults, while keeping the heart always warm and sympathetic.

Very unlike his countryman of the tenth century, was an unspeculative, but diligent, painstaking and exceedingly useful worker in the field of sacred learning among Italian Jews of the eleventh century. While the glories of Oriental academies had not entirely departed with the death of the last chief—Rab Hai—Rome was cradling one who might have rivalled even a Persian Gaon. Who will dispute *this* fact? No student of Rabbinical literature can ever dispense with the book which Nathan Ben Yechiel produced.

Let the linguists who have amplified the sources of that admirable composition receive the meed of praise due them. More than once have I heartily ascribed

honor and have offered thanks to the late Alexander Kohut for enlarging into colossal proportions what was comparatively small. And I, with many others, who long to supply English-speaking youths, devoted to Rabbinical learning, with an indispensable volume of reference, look anxiously forward to the completion of Marcus Jastrow's essential undertaking. Yet, none should dare deny the father of Rabbinical lexicographers a permanent standing among eminent scholars. If the fair peninsula had brought forth only that man, it would have deserved well of the republic of letters. For, what the inimitable Rashi of the next century is, in the exposition of the sense of Gemaric texts, the author of the *'Aruch* is to the understanding of the language of the Talmud, and post-Talmudic or contemporary literature accessible in his days.

But since I painfully recognize the utter impossibility of letting even a few of the most notable among Italian Jewish writers pass in review before my hearers, I will direct their attention a brief while to a genius, marvellous, and yet confessedly repulsive.

The spirit of Hebrew poetry, whose decayed temple was gorgeously rebuilt in Andalusia, found votaries also along the borders of the Tiber and the Arno. Italian Jews—of a nature ardent and vivacious—soon became enamored with the effusions of their Spanish co-religionists. The first to show how powerful had been the influence of the reawakened spirit was a Roman of the thirteenth century. Charizi's intellect had struck brilliant sparks, and the mind of Immanuel was all ablaze. In style and presentation of the subjects, the two writers bear great resemblance to each other. But just as the last named surpasses the former in exuberance of wit,

so does he exceed his prototype in the art of misapplying the wealth of language at his command. Charizi—light and volatile—has scarcely shapen a thought offensive to chastity; Immanuel absolutely luxuriates in similes which do not fall short of the loose descriptions of his countryman, Giovanni Boccaccio. There can be no palliative cause for that prostitution of the sacred tongue. The apparent wish to display so thorough a mastery of the Hebrew, as to be able to mould it at will, can never extenuate the wrong of indulging in the obscene imageries, with which the poetical work of the Italian Jew teems. The Rabbis who placed it on the list of prohibited books were correct in their judgment. They saw in the pages of that book much calculated to enkindle unruly passions, and they justly ignored all other considerations. The almost unique excellencies of the composition, the reputation of the author as a noted commentator and grammarian did not deter the sages from branding his love songs with the stigma of reproach, as wanton and profane.

Yet, the condemnation rising unbidden on the lips of the right-thinking reader cannot hold back the swelling tide of admiration for a writing studded with literary gems. The *Machberoth 'Immanuel*, or "Immanuel's Cantos," consists of poems written on various occasions, but collected into a whole, and published at the instance of an anonymous Mæcenas, and probably at his expense, to raise the author above want, and cheer his melancholy mood, because of the vicissitudes of fortune. Like Charizi's works, each narrative, in charming rhythmical prose, is generally followed by some stanzas, in which the ideas already advanced are metrically presented.

I shall not attempt to give any extensive account of an

octavo volume, numbering nearly three hundred pages of Hebrew. The beauties of the poetry, the elegance of the diction lured me into that task twenty-one years ago. This evening I will merely offer a faint idea of the contents of a few of the twenty-eight cantos, or rather of some salient points therein.

Immanuel introduces his readers to a Purim Feast. A large and merry company sit together. Amidst rich viands and sparkling wines, the conversation turns on love and song. Some boast of a poetical vein which never beat in them, others indulge in plagiarisms, and strive to palm off stolen ideas as their own emanations, while many rehearse poems of our author, but so wilfully distorted are they as to be scarcely recognizable. This circumstance excites the poet's anger, and he gives vent to feelings of intense vexation.

There happened to be among the assemblage a man of wealth and wide culture, a patron of learning. He stirred up Immanuel to imitate Charizi, arranging methodically all his effusions, and offering them to the public under some pleasing fiction; the same opulent friend expressing a desire that he himself be chosen as the imaginary associate with whom ideas were to be exchanged. The poet consents, and, invoking his genius in a style sublime, proceeds to describe the munificence of the Prince (so he calls his fictitious companion) and the streaming light of his poesy, which, like a sun, is reflected by all lesser orbs.

The sixth canto particularly abounds in literary merits. It purposes to be a vindication of Italo-Hebraic writers. At a large meeting of friends, the question arose as to whom was due the palm for excellencies in poetical effusions. Some named the Arabo-Spanish; others, the Jews

of South France. Italy came in for only a small share of laudation. Immanuel remained quiet, till a Provençal made the boast that none dared compete with his countrymen, for he himself would suffice to shame all present into silence. The Roman looked around and beheld humiliation painted on the countenances of his own countrymen. He then cried aloud: "Men! who is he that has so aspersed our honor, and belittled our greatness? Be not dismayed, friends! I will go and fight your battles, and if I do not break this braggart's lance into a hundred shivers, I shall bear your everlasting reproach." Plaudits followed. Immanuel then challenged the Provençal to come forward and let the waves of his swelling lore roll on; he would soon hedge him in on all sides. The trial agreed upon was that to every question propounded, our poet should give, as a fitting and rhythmical answer, a quotation from the Scriptures. Over three hundred times did the querist put his interlocutor to a severe test; but the suitable reply was always at hand. That production is truly a rich treat to the Hebraist. No straining of the sense, no far-fetched citations mar its smoothness. All said is so precise, so exactly to the point, that it seems as if it were written in the Bible for that special purpose.

Partaking of the ridiculous, but still conveying a moral, is the fifteenth canto. It sets forth a theory which the prince advances in vindication of the ways of Providence, but which the poet is unprepared to admit. The former lays it down as a demonstrable fact, that, though most men complain of their lot, none would exchange it for that of another. To prove his theory, the prince proposes that he and Immanuel should travel together, stop persons on the road, question them closely, and judge

whether, by properly arguing with them, a confession will not be drawn that, after all, they have cause to rest satisfied with their own condition. The conversation which the two held with many individuals affords, in several instances, useful instruction; in others, its illustrations are frivolous and vulgar, in one case intensely ludicrous.

They met a '*Hazan*. He looked seedy and ill-fed. His voice was remarkably strong; his family considerably large. He had often been at his wits' end to discover how to provide for his daily wants. The prince, accosting him, said: "Would you like to exchange position with Mr. A., who is talented, rich, has a good-looking wife and bright children?" "To be sure I would," was the instant reply. "But," continued the prince, "would you be willing, in order to get what he possesses, to lose your splendid voice and have his instead?" "Ah, no! not that," rejoined the *Hazan*, "for he has the roughest voice I ever heard; his singing is a dog's bark. But when I raise mine at the *Kaddish* or *Kedushāh*, the fountains of song open wide. And on Kippur, or on Purim, or any of the holidays, whether I chant a Psalm, read a *Haphtarah*, or even sing lamentations on *Tishnga Beab*, why, all listen as if struck dumb. I make them shed tears. I make them joyful. Ah, no! Were Mr. A. to offer me all his wealth, he should not have *my* voice."

The nineteenth canto shows a complete metamorphosis. He who in the preceding canto had appeared in the garb of a parasite, assumes the form of a moralist. Immanuel sets forth, to the edification of his hearers, sublime truths, to which may fitly be applied the Scriptural metaphor: "Apples of gold in pitchers of silver." The author had intended his lessons for a young scholar, evincing such

gentleness of spirit, purity of character, and so great a yearning for what is morally good and beautiful, that his teacher had built on those traits the brightest hopes. The sentences pronounced are almost perfection itself. Gabirol, teeming with expressions of deep humility, Halevi, full of pathos, the Aben Ezras, pithy and ardent, would not be brought down from their high pedestals had they penned those verses. In fact, a striking similarity in thought and style, especially with the first-named writer, may, in some instances, be traced in that canto. Thus, one of the prayers, ostensibly written for the prince, who craved to be inspired to righteousness by doctrines like those instilled into the mind of the youthful pupil, contains a passage, which every reader of the *Kéther Malchuth* ("The Royal Crown") will recognize as a counterpart of that by the immortal Andalusian: "If Thou, O God! slayest me, I will still hold fast to hope. Rejected by Thee, I will again flee to Thee for help; the wings of Thy mercy will protect my being. From Thy consuming wrath, I shall find shelter beneath the shade of Thy loving-kindness."

Doubtless, the two poets lighted upon the same ideas. It would be ungracious to suspect of theft the Italian so rich in literary resources.

The twenty-eighth and last canto pictures a subject as novel in Hebrew literature as it is startling. "La Divina Commedia" had just issued from the plastic mind of Dante. Its influence on the fervid imagination of our Immanuel was magical. The friendly intercourse said to have existed between the father of Italian poesy and the greatest of Jewish satirists may have lent wings for a lofty flight. It has been also suggested that the death of Alighieri gave origin to the weird Hebrew composi-

tion, and that the immortal Tuscan figures conspicuously in it, under a fictitious name. Be that as it may, all will recognize in the composition, ideas drawn from a spring which does not flow in Israel's domains. We are asked to accompany the writer through infernal regions, and thence travel onward to the abode of blissfulness. Immanuel does not tell us the name of the illustrious personage, whose decease overwhelmed him with grief, recalled the follies of his youth, and revealed the yawning grave, ready to fasten him in its cold embrace. Suddenly, an apparition rises. The spirit of Daniel has been evoked by the poet's genius.

Like Virgil to Dante, so does the man "greatly beloved" become the celestial escort, leading his cherished disciple, unscathed, amidst burning sulphur and rolling glaciers. The description is thrilling. But I shall not hazard to fasten to it the attention of my hearers. In my youth, the mere attempt of some Italian Jews to give the world a Hebrew rendition of the "*Divina Commedia*" was to me delight. In my old age, I turn away even from the incomparably grand delineation of an Immanuel. Nor will I unfold his picture of a sun sevenfold more refulgent than the luminary created "to rule the day," never setting in the serenest sky; nor of the gentle zephyr gathering around ambrosial fragrance; nor of the presentation of celestial joys transparent from the souls of the dwellers of Elysium. The invention is un-Jewish, though set off in language surpassingly beautiful. I shall not trace it out before an audience of men and women who have been taught to avoid searching into what is inscrutable, and to commit the unknown future to the power of The Most High and Merciful God.

I would rather ask my hearers to bear with me, while I devote a thought to an Italian Jew, whom a celebrated German declares to be the first sound critic of modern times.

The family of De Rossi boast of a great ancestry. That the rude and heartless soldier, miscalled "the delight of mankind," sought to grace his triumphal entry into the "eternal city" by carrying thither some of the most prominent Palestinean Jews, is certain; but that they who assume to trace their descent from that period can be credited any more than they who, at various times, asserted to derive their origin from David, is an open question. The lovers of literature, however, care little about Azariah De Rossi's extraction. The advantage derived from a perusal of valuable writings will neither increase by the knowledge that the author was the scion of a noble stock, nor lessen by reason of the belief that his predecessors ranked no higher than the bulk of mankind. Suffice that the book *Meor 'Enayim* is truly what the name denotes—a light to the mind's eye. Leopold Zunz did not indulge in any hyperbole, when he wrote that Azariah De Rossi reached, by his towering mind, the stronghold of error, stormed it and leveled it with the ground; that he stands alone among the learned of his days for unwearied industry in collecting and examining rare manuscripts; for reviving the memories of teachers of great eminence in ages past.

Interesting is the occurrence which partly occasioned the composition of De Rossi's exceedingly erudite work. From Mantua, his native city, the subject of this talk of mine had gone to establish himself in Ferrara. About ten o'clock at night on the 18th of November, 1570, a terrific earthquake turned men's dwellings into graves.

The shrieks of those who fled, they knew not where, mingled with the moans of the dying. Repeated shocks, on successive days, delivered a large number a prey to uncontrollable dread; they sickened, never to recover. Others, abandoning their homes and substance, wandered abroad, as if bereft of reason. De Rossi gives, in lucid style, a graphic description of the event, and comments scientifically and, again, from a religious point of view, upon the frightful origin of it. Then he branches out to remark that what had happened to his wife would have baffled the knowledge of an Æsculapius and a Hippocrates. The terror she experienced turned the color of her skin into a deep yellow, and from that moment she craved for nothing but salt. Yet, he holds that her cure was due to that morbid desire. The deep-thinking Rabbi suggests that the quantity of pure salt which his wife ate destroyed the effect of the saline and sulphuric particles which may have entered her system at the upheaving of the earth—thus, unknowingly, anticipating, in a measure, the principle guiding homœopathy, namely, *Similia similibus curantur*, "Like cures like."

However, the calamity which reduced many to poverty, compelled De Rossi also to leave Ferrara, and take up a temporary abode on the south side of the river Po. There he made the acquaintance of a learned Christian, who diverted his mind from existing troubles by engaging in literary discussions. Truly amazing is the thorough familiarity which De Rossi exhibits with the productions of his predecessors. Most ingenious is he in explaining away difficulties which often present themselves to an inquiring mind. As Zunz depicted the Mantua Sage, so he proved himself in the many efforts of his fluent pen.

Yet, conceding that he was a scholar of extraordinary abilities, and a ready Hebrew writer, it cannot be denied that he failed, nevertheless, at times, to arrive at correct conclusions, because he followed unreliable guides. To cite a single instance, I will say, that in passing an opinion on the character and deeds of Philo Judæus, De Rossi ought not to have reckoned the Alexandrian philosopher among those "suspected of unfaithfulness towards God and our sainted teachers." Philo's voyage to Rome to plead before Caius Caligula, in behalf of his brethren, whose extermination had been decreed against them for refusing to worship the statue of the self-deified emperor, the pious sentiments with which he encouraged his fellow-believers after his unsuccessful embassy, show him faithful to Israel and to God.

It must be admitted that Philo's learning does not bear the stamp of holiness; that the prolific author did not draw directly from the language of inspiration—the Hebrew—and hence, he fell into errors marked by a mystical interpretation of the Scriptures. Still, the Alexandrian philosopher deserves well of his people, because, as De Rossi himself also acknowledges, he wrote copiously and beautifully for the exaltation of Judaism as he conceived it.

The Mantua Rabbi may occasionally have yielded to the views entertained by his Jewish contemporaries, and in deference thereto, may have been chary in pronouncing a decided judgment. But whether his occasional hesitation proceeded from a fear to offend prevailing notions, or whether he actually doubted the correctness of his own conclusions, neither his caution nor his modesty shielded his writings from violent attacks under the charge of heresy.

Willing to judge charitably even when it concerns the action of those who forbade looking upon a splendid monument of Jewish literature, ascribing the fault to the times, more than to the men themselves, one cannot, nevertheless, but feel indignant at the unscrupulousness of some, who took advantage of the suppression of De Rossi's productions to appropriate to themselves sparkling gems from the interdicted treasury. That robbery is the more provoking, because the objects stolen were not preserved in their original form. Their beauty was purposely, maliciously, marred, to disguise the pilfering.

Fortunately, much of the intolerance rife in the sixteenth century has been set aside. The countrymen and coreligionists of Azariah De Rossi have assigned to him a niche in the temple of fame, while Gentile celebrities quote him as an authority, and recognize as his own emanations what others stole. A great desideratum is a faultless edition of the *Meor 'Enaim*. The Berlin edition abounds in errors and omissions. Goldberg, who published Zunz's article on the Mantua Rabbi in the Annual, called *Kérem Chémed*, did a valuable service when he reproduced some annotations from an anonymous author—but which reveal the erudite mind of the great Rapoport—wherein the following is related: De Rossi had a dream. A man stood by him, and voices were heard to cry out: "Dost thou not see the personage looking at thee? He is a prophet." "If so," said Azariah, addressing the stranger, "if thou art indeed inspired, let me know how long I have to live." "Three years yet," was the answer. In the morning, as our author awoke, he wrote these lines, the translation of which reads thus in English:

"As on my bed to rest at peace last night I lay—
In Kislev of the year, which we reckon to-day—
A superhuman being appeared loudly to say :—
'Three summers will pass on, ere thou be called away.'
Twice for me will Kislev on the earth alight,
My spirit on the third to God shall take its flight.
Source of all good ! Oh ! aid a sinner in his plight !
Let shades of death hide faults abhorrent in Thy sight."

By the wayside of Mantua the bones of the illustrious writer rested, and on his grave the above inscription was placed, when the dream proved true, in Kislev, 5338. Alas ! The stone shared the fate of him who lay buried underneath. Both were rudely cast away to some unknown spot by the Italian monks, who sought for more space to build up monasteries.

In 1886, when the late Marco Mortara, of Mantua, completed the fiftieth year of his admission into the Rabbinate, he celebrated the occasion by the publication of a volume, which must have cost the distinguished compiler an immense amount of labor. He modestly called it *Mazkéreth Chachmé Italia*, or "A Record of Italian Rabbis." But it is more than a simple record. Besides the proper and patronymic names of men and women of Italy professing our faith, who wrote on Jewish subjects, it contains the dates and places of the editions of the numerous writings, with valuable explanatory annotations.

That volume, which does not assume to be absolutely complete, reckons over twenty-two hundred persons who left evidences of their literary activity, as natives, or permanent residents, of the classic peninsula. Could I entertain the false hope of satisfying in a single lecture the wish expressed that I should define the character of Jewish Italian literature ? Marco Mortara's book, to

which I have just alluded, proves my utter incapacity to carry out the object in view.

But having detained my hearers with passing information concerning some few among the most celebrated Italians, who employed the Sacred Language in their compositions, I beg leave to make a departure from the topic assigned to me and point out one of my numerous co-religionists who honored Judaism by their writings in the Italian language.

Before the land of Dante had become unified by the fall of the Pope's temporal power, even before Sardinia had proclaimed in 1859 the emancipation of her Jewish subjects, David Levi, of Turin, had written valuable memoirs on Hebrew education in Piedmont—that section of Italy which had given Judaism a Sabbato Graziadio Treves, the eminent Rabbi-Preacher, and Lelio Della Torre, the colleague of Luzzatto, in the once famous College of Padua. But a work that afforded Levi's versatility of genius the widest scope, is a drama entitled "The Prophet." It could issue only from an intellect which education and surroundings made capable of conceiving Judaism in its loftiest spirituality.

The author of that sublime outpouring of the soul had drawn inspiration from the purest source. For, the charms of his mother's lovely face were surpassed by the graces of a moral nature which partook of the celestial. She was the virtuous woman of Holy Writ, who speaks wisdom and on whose tongue is the law of kindness. Gently she led her sex in the way of mercy; her serenity dispelled gloom from the abode of misery. The son she cherished learned betimes to associate truth and humanity with the teachings of Sinai. In that blessed faith he grew. *Il Profeta* ("The Prophet") is the

embodiment of his belief. Jeremiah, the plaintive bard of Israel's sorrows, figures there centrally, and around "the man who saw affliction" cluster characters typical of fervent zeal, of undying devotion to the apostleship of The Unity.

David Levi's controlling thoughts may be condensed in the following sentences, which occur in a prose writing from his pen: "A patriotic revolution breaks out, and lo! the Jew intuitively hails it as the twilight of the dawn, for which he has ceaselessly yearned. For, the triune creed of the Jew is God, Law, Humanity, and the same holy triad is the impelling force of great revolutions, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, are not atheistical, but aim at the religious, civil and temporal betterment of peoples. The historical existence of the Jew opens with the Decalogue—the declaration of an independence, proclaiming man's rights and duties. Man doomed at his very birth, lowered as the child of sin, denied inalienable rights under a false Christianity, is, under Judaism, raised to dignity as a citizen of the world. Arbitrariness, privileges of hereditary castes, had displaced equality; a mighty revolution, like Mosaism, vindicates equality, the supremacy of Law, the right to the pursuit of happiness, to universal improvement. The religion it imposes is no longer a mythical absurdity, the worship of a partial God, a sacrifice of reason to the senses, a sheer negation of self-ennoblement. It is the adoration of a Supreme Being—The All-Loving God. Israelites among all nations have ardently taken sides with revolutionists, in the act of avenging justice. They have become heralds of liberty. Rabbis have vied with each other in reproducing in Hebrew patriotic songs, as an echo of the immortal anthem raised whilom when

The Lord of battles struck down the oppressor, and made the sea to flee before His freedmen."

An Italian journal, referring to another production of David Levi, entitled, "Semitism, a Factor in Civilization," declares: "Such a work should not be called 'a pamphlet,' as the illustrious poet modestly terms it, but rather 'an epoch-making volume in the history of human thoughts.' By right it should have preceded 'The Prophet,' but several considerations induced the author to publish it separately. We trust that the sequel of 'The Prophet,' or 'A People's Suffering,' will soon appear in all its completeness to crown with fresh laurels the venerated head of David Levi."

Since a secular journal published the above, our fellow-believer of Turin has added to his renown by the finest touches of his genius. The memories of Imperial Rome and of fallen Judea, which stirred up his soul from its inmost depths, evoked a poetry that thrills. The scene of a night vision in the seven-hilled city might have been portrayed by a Niccolini—the classic creator of the great tragedy, *Arnold Da Brescin*—and done him honor.

But neither the love I bear the country in which my sainted mother fondled me with her caresses and first taught me to speak, nor the gratitude I owe every Jew in that country, who sheds lustre upon our belief by the offspring of his intellect, will mislead me into a breach of propriety. Perhaps, I have already overstepped the boundaries prescribed by the Committee, that did me the honor of asking that I should open the course of lectures, in which others, confessedly possessed of great scholarship, will be heard. If I have succeeded in proving,

if only in part, that from remote ages Italy could boast of Israelites occupying a front rank in the domains of ritualism, science, poetry, Talmudism and critical researches; if I have shown, but slightly, that Israelites ardently patriotic, who forgave and forgot the indignities of the ghettos, the villainy of princes and dukes, the child stealing of Popedom, dwell under the smiling sky of the peninsula; if I have afforded merely a modicum of information, I shall not have unduly detained my audience.

THE HISTORY AND THE FUTURE OF THE
TEXT OF THE TALMUD,

BY

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The Talmud has often been called a Cyclopedia. If by this we understand a collection of information on all subjects of human thought and practice, the Talmud may deserve the name, inasmuch as virtually there is not a branch of human industry of ancient days that does not find mention in it, not a problem of human speculation that is not attacked in it, not a science or pseudo-science that is not discussed in it.

But it is a cyclopedia in which that is wanting which forms the main feature of a cyclopedia, namely, order and systematic arrangement.

I do not mean to say that there is no logical order in the discussions and even the digressions, or that there is no systematic arrangement of subjects in the volumes of the Talmud. What is wanting is the arrangement of the matter; what makes familiarity with the Talmud difficult to obtain is the absence of a guide in the labyrinth to tell us where we may find what we are seeking.

The history of the formation of the Talmud and of its final redaction in the present shape accounts for its peculiar character.

The Talmud is a collection of traditional laws and discussions in schools and academies, decisions in courts and colleges, interpretations, legal and homiletical, in synagogues and schoolhouses,—all of them preserved and developed in the national mind, until finally reduced to writing.

Chronologically speaking, it is divided into Mishnah and Gemara. The former contains a collection of laws and discussions of the period of the early teachers, named Tannaïm, comprising at least four centuries. There are elements in the Mishnah pointing back to the second century before our present era, while its latest elements lead us to the beginning of the third century of the present era.

The Gemara is a collection of laws and discussions of the period named after the Amoraim (lectors), which comprises about three centuries.

In spite of its later development, however, the Gemara, in the shape of citations as a basis for discussion, has preserved elements of tradition as old as, and even older than, the oldest constituent parts of the Mishnah. Its close and reduction to writing took place in about 500 of the present era.

But chronological dates are like the dates of the palm-tree, dry and tasteless; the real, spiritual fruits on the tree of knowledge are not affected by time or season; they often ripen in the most uncongenial climates, and shrivel and fade under the most genial sun.

To know the nature of the Talmud, we must know the character of the mental processes crystallized in the proceedings, the synopsis of which is deposited in the Talmud.

What do these minutes of the sessions of scholars in the course of eight centuries contain?

The only exhaustive answer would be another question: "What do they not contain?"

To form a table of contents of the Talmud is impossible. All we can say is that, logically divided, it contains two elements, the legal element (*Halakhah*), includ-

ing religious, civil, and criminal legislation, discussions, and decisions, and a medley of observations, incidental to these legal discussions, on all possible topics. For convenience sake we call this second element of the Talmud, *Agadah* (Talk). There you meet serious and often ingenious Bible exegesis, alongside of sportive plays on words and shrewd scholastic sophistry; grave History and her charming little sisters, Anecdote and Legend; Medicine and her parents, Magic and Superstition; Astronomy and her older companion, Astrology; Metaphysics and her next-door neighbor, Mysticism, and—I regret that I have nothing but an *et cetera* for the rest of the thoughts and things contained in that store-house called the *Agadah*.

All these productions of the Jewish mind of eight centuries were stored in the national memory for ages and ages. The traditions were taught orally in schools and academies, the notes taken down now and then by individual scholars having no value beyond that of mnemonic guides to the student writing them. At last the time was considered ripe to reduce these verbal communications to writing, and to edit them in the form in which they appear in the *Mishnah* and *Gemarah* respectively. Thus was created a store-house wherein the ages could lay down their productions, or at least specimens thereof, protected from the storms of political changes and the ravages of time.

When speaking generally of the *Gemara*, we mean the collection of post-Mishnic discussions which had their origin in, or were brought to, the Babylonian academies, especially those of *Sura* and *Pumbeditha*.

There is, however, a similar, somewhat older collection, which contains the result of the debates held in

the Palestinian schools, and which bears the name of Talmud Yerushalmi, or Jerusalem Talmud. Fragmentary in condition, and lapidary in style, it has the character of stenographic notes rather than of an edited book. Its history cannot be told, for it is the history of neglect. These preliminary remarks were necessary in order to make us understand the *history of the Talmudic Text*, or, we should rather say, *Texts*.

The Talmudic texts have a pre-original history; they had life and development before they were born. The Mishnah, we have seen, existed and grew for centuries in a liquid state (if I may use the expression) before it was crystallized into its present shape, and the Gemara likewise lived and developed in the mouth of tradition from generation to generation, and its text has therefore a pre-original history.

Tradition with the Jewish people, as with the Arabs, has not that vague meaning which we generally attach to it. Tradition is a verbatim report, a faithful documentary record of proceedings, debates, and final decisions and enactments, together with all the incidents and digressions liable to come up in courts, which are at the same time schools, and in schools, the headmasters of which are vested with the authority of practical judges. A tradition is called *sh'mu'ah*, or *sh'm'ata* (that which has been heard), and its reporter gives his immediate authority and all preceding authorities. Only when the chain of tradition becomes too long, the reporter is permitted to leave out the links between his own immediate teacher, and the earliest authority traceable.

It is not sufficient to deliver the sense of a practical or theoretical decision (or *halakhah*); you must give the very words as you heard them from your teacher.

Here is an example: In a discussion in the Mishnah concerning the quantity of drawn water sufficient to disqualify a tank from use for ritual immersion, it is reported, "Hillel says, 'a *Hin* of drawn water disqualifies a bath,' while Shammai says, 'nine *Kab* are required for disqualification.'" (Eduyoth I, 3.)

You observe, the one makes the *Hin* (which is three *Kab*) a standard measure, the other uses *Kab* for the purpose. The editor of the Mishnah, feeling the incongruity in his text, apologizes by adding, "One must report in the very language of one's teacher."

Hillel had a preference for the old Biblical measure *Hin*, and thus the tradition had to go down the ages with Hillel as author and *Hin* as measure, although the term was no longer used in practical life.

This instance referring to the Mishnah, let me quote another example, which will serve to illustrate the origin of the Gemara. In obedience to the rule of tradition, I shall translate verbatim:

"Said Rab Judah, son of Rab Samuel, son of Shilath, in the name of Rab: 'The guests around the table are not permitted to eat anything until he who breaks the bread has tasted.' When Rab Safra sat down [to teach], he said, '*to taste* has been said,' " which means that the text reads, the guests must not *taste* anything until he who breaks the bread has tasted.

The question now is asked, what difference is there between the two forms of expression? And the answer is, "One is bound to report in the language of one's teacher."

Even differences in spelling are faithfully recorded and commented upon. Rab and Samuel, we are told, differed as to whether *ed* (an idolatrous festival) was to be spelled

with an *Alef* or with an '*Ayin*, and the reasons for the two forms are freely discussed, although not very satisfactorily to our linguistic conceptions. (Erubin 2^a.)

However, in spite of all these safeguards, variations and corruptions have arisen and have been verbally transmitted from generation to generation.

Two causes account for these shortcomings of the national mind: the migration of the material from land to land, and the fallibility of human memory, especially when dependent on oral transmission.

As you are aware, there were two centres of Jewish learning in those days. Palestine and Babylonia contended with each other for the crown of scholarship, and students, solicitous to have the benefits of both schools, traveled from Sura and Pumbeditha to Tiberias, enriching Palestine with Babylonian opinions, and on returning to Babylonia brought valuable material for the workshop of the Babylonian mind.

But the medium of communication between these two countries offered some difficulties. The Hebrew and the Chaldaic spoken in Babylonia differed dialectically from the Palestinian tongues; not enough, it is true, to prevent mutual understanding, but just enough to produce occasional misunderstandings. But the two countries had for centuries been ruled by different nations, which naturally left their impress upon the language of the Jews.

Institutions and customs of the Greeks and Romans furnished Greek and Latin words to the Palestinian vocabulary, and in like manner the Babylonian Jews, although very sparsely, introduced into their language Persian words and phrases.

On this point I may be permitted a slight digression from the subject before us.

A general impression (I may well call it a prejudice) prevails, that the idiom of the Talmuds, especially that of the Babylonian Talmud, is a motley mixture of words borrowed from all sorts of languages and dialects, neighboring or distant, living in those days or extinct—nay, even unborn. Up to the present day linguistic students have helped to confirm the prejudice. They ransacked the abstrusest dialects and remotest literatures, and drew phonetical analogies between languages that had never come in contact with each other.

The philological method of the eighteenth century, which Swift so ingeniously parodied when he derived the name of Alexander the Great from the order "All eggs under the grate," which his English-speaking attendants were wont to issue when the great monarch, who was fond of roasted eggs, approached his palace,—this phonetic philology, long ago discarded in all other fields of linguistic research, still survives to a large extent in Talmudic studies.

Only recently has the idea dawned, or, rather, begun to dawn, upon philologists that the language of the Talmud was developed under the same organic laws as any other tongue, and that the extension of ideas and the growth of mental and material influences caused a natural and internal development and transformation of the linguistic elements available.

Assyrian discoveries, too, have come and are still daily coming to the rescue of the dignity of the Talmudic language, and many a word hitherto believed to be a phonetic corruption and mental distortion of a Greek, or Persian, or Pehlevi, or Huzvar expression, is now recognized to be of good Semitic origin, and the Talmud, on

its part, repays these services of the Assyrian monuments richly by helping Assyriologists to decipher many an obscure expression and doubtful reading.

But worthless are both a language and a civilization that do not borrow ideas and their verbal representatives from their surroundings. Our English language would never have been so rich and flexible as it is, had it not increased its working capital by borrowing from all accessible banks and treasuries.

In the same way the widening of views through contact with other nations produced a literary language for the Jews of Palestine and of Babylonia, enriched through legitimate and conscious importations of foreign elements.

These influences, however, differed in the two centres of Jewish settlement and Jewish learning. Words well understood in one land were carried to the other, and, the means of communication being mainly the tongue, and but rarely the pen, the importations naturally were often misshapen and not infrequently misunderstood.

A few illustrations may not be out of place here.

The discussion is recorded in the Babylonian Talmud as to how bright a light must be in order that the benediction customary at the exit of the Sabbath might be said over it. "Ulla said, bright enough for one to distinguish between an *Isar* (the Roman *As*) and a *Pundion* (the Roman *Dipondium*). Hiskiah said, bright enough for one to distinguish between the *M'luzma* of Tiberias and the *M'luzma* of Sepphoris."

You see at a glance, that this is a Palestinian tradition brought verbatim to Babylonia. The scenery is Palestinian, the coins are those current in Palestine under the Roman government, Tiberias and Sepphoris are Pales-

tinian towns, and the authors quoted, it is needless to say, are Palestinians, native or immigrant. What, now, is the word *M'luzma*? From the context as well as from tradition—for a living tradition accompanies the written Gemara, almost in the same manner as the verbal Gemara accompanied the Mishnah—we know, that *M'luzma* means the *stamp* or *legend* of a coin. There can be no doubt that it is a foreign word, either Greek or Latin. What was its sound originally? It was the Greek *nomisma*, which was adopted into Latin as *numisma*, and which survives in our *numismatics*.

By what phonetic process could *numisma* in its transmission from Palestine to Babylonia have been corrupted into *m'luzma*?—for students need not be reminded that there is a phonetic law for corruptions as well as for legitimate growth.

Now, the Latin *nummus* appears in the Talmud as *lumma*; the plural *nummi* as *lummin*; the Apostle *Lucas* (Luke) is mentioned as *Nakai*. In accordance with this dialectic law of "Lautverschiebung," *numisma* would be changed into *lumisma*, and for the Babylonian tongue it was more convenient to say *meluzma* than *lumisma*, just as it is easier to the English tongue to say *summersalt* or *summerset* than *soprasalto*, as the Italian has it.

Another and more interesting corruption, owing to migration from Palestine to Babylonia, is the following:

There was an institution in the Roman empire called *angaria*, a word borrowed from the Persian, and denoting the service which a Roman officer in the provinces was entitled to exact from the inhabitants of the places through which they marched, as the seizure of men and beasts for paying the roads, for transport of war material, and the like.

This institution is well known in the Talmud, and it gives rise to nice questions of law, as, for instance, if one hires an ass and it is seized for *angaria*, whether or not the owner is bound to furnish another beast in place of the confiscated one. A distinction is drawn between an *angaria* which comes back to the place whence it started, and an *angaria* which does not come back, in which case the owner has to help himself to his property as well as he can. (Baba Metsia 78^b.)

The discussion of this point is reported in the name of Rab and Samuel, both of whom were Babylonians who had been pursuing their studies in Palestine, and who, on their return, became the founders of Talmud schools in their respective homes.

Now, this mental migration was accomplished without any injury to word or sense.

But there was a similar institution known in the Roman empire, which bore the name of *parangaria*. It was the extra service which Roman officials had a right to demand, but for which they had to pay remuneration or indemnities.

Again it is Rab who brings the traditional law connected with this institution to Babylonia. The law is, that he who sells his slave for the *parangaria*, has forfeited his ownership, and the slave, when dismissed from the public service for which he has been bought, goes free.

The question is raised, what could the slave-owner do to retain his slave? The answer follows, that he might have conciliated the officer by paying the requisite amount, or by furnishing a substitute, and not having done so, he surrendered his rights. (Gittin 44^a).

Again the distinction is drawn between the *parangaria* which returns and that which does not.

But through some mistake the word *parangaria* appears as *parhang goy*, which is "a gentile *parhang*," and the commentators, interpreting according to the sense, explain *parhang* to mean a man of power, an oppressor, ignoring the grammatical difficulty that our word is used in the feminine gender. To add to the confusion, later editions have changed the somewhat odious *goy* into the more refined *nokhri*, and thus, in place of the plain *parangaria*, arose the monster *parhang nokhri*, a female, and a puzzle to the linguistic student.

Yet, even this corruption, though distorting the sense to some extent, is harmless, compared with the injury done by misreporting a traditional *halakhah*, and causing a discussion based on a mistake.

Let me give you one glaring example.

The Roman law had a mode of manumission of a slave known by the name of *vindicta* or *vindicatio*. "The master brought his slave before the magistrate; the Lictor laid a rod on the head of the slave, accompanied with certain formal words, in which he declares that he is henceforth a free man *ex jure Quiritium*. The master, in the meantime, held the slave, and after he had pronounced the words, 'Hunc hominem liberum volo,' he turned him round and let him go."*

"When a slave obtained his freedom, he had his head shaven, and wore instead of his hair an undyed *pileus* (cap). The figure of Liberty on some of the coins of Antoninus Pius holds this cap in the right hand."†

These two symbols of manumission were, of course, well known in Palestine, and were made the subject of Talmudic law, not without a practical purpose. The Jews

* See Smith Antiquities, s. v. Manumissio.

† Ib., s. v. Pileus.

under the Roman government, although holding fast to their own laws, and clinging to their own jurisdiction, had to deal with these Roman forms, and the question how far these forms had to be recognized, was forced upon them by the political conditions under which they lived and struggled hard to maintain as much of their independence as they possibly could. We find, therefore, in the Palestinian Talmud, that a slave freed by the form of manumission called *vindicta*, or by proving that he had been permitted to wear the cap of liberty without protest, needed, nevertheless, a letter of manumission (*Get*) issued under Jewish jurisdiction. (Yerush Gittin IV., 45^b).

On the other hand, an old treatise on slaves, not embodied in the Talmud collection, says: "A slave becomes free by *antukta* (which is *vindicta*), and also by a record found in the owner's *pinax* (account-book) or in tablets, but cannot claim his liberty on the ground of wearing a cap." (Treatise 'Abadim in Septem Libri Talm., ed Kirchheim, p. 30).

Now, this tradition came to Babylonia, where those symbols of liberty were unknown, and it assumed the following curious form. I shall again translate verbatim:

"A slave that went out by dint of a writing on a tablet or account-book, goes free, but he does not go free by dint of a writing on a cap or *andukhtra*." (Gittin 20^a).

The tradition just quoted is brought up in connection with a discussion on the form of writing necessary to give validity to a document of manumission or divorce. Whether or not engraven or raised letters were a legal form of writing, is the question under dispute, and the tradition just cited is adduced in evidence of respective legality and illegality.

Writing on wax-covered tablets or books is engraving, while writing on a cap can only be thought of as embroidery, and, by a natural analogy, the same applies to the *andukhtra*.

Thus, the curious *andukhtra* or *undakhtre*, in which we could not have recognized the *vindicta*, were it not for the parallels in Palestinian literature, where the word is not yet corrupted beyond recognition, becomes in Babylonia a garment on which a letter of manumission is embroidered.

The difficulty of coping with these importations could not but be deeply felt. Very frequently an interpretation of foreign words is asked for and in a more or less correct way given in the very discussions in which they incidentally appear, and many a student found it profitable to compose a glossary for his own use.

Such a glossary was called *Agadta*, the Chaldaic equivalent of *Agadah*, the general expression for a collection of *miscellanies*.

A scholar in the course of a debate in Babylonia mentions some Greek words as he has heard them in Palestine, or from a Palestinian scholar, as, for instance, *kynegé* (hunter), *ballistré* (archer), and the presiding teacher says to his amanuensis, "Go and write *kynegé* and *ballistré* in thy collection."

Nor did the Babylonians take kindly to the foreign teachers who burdened them with expressions which they considered uncouth. We are told that when R. Ammi and R. Assi were installed as rabbis, the students, mocking at the frequent display of Greek and Latin by their teachers, sang, "Such men, such men, appoint for us, but do not give us men that talk *sermis*, *sermit*, *hemis*, *tremis*." (Kethuboth 17^a; Sanhedrin 14^a).

But considering that all these importations of *matter*

and of words were carried by the least reliable vehicles of communication, ears and lips, we are warranted in saying that, on the whole, the condition of the text of the Babylonian Talmud is a true reflection of the state of culture and intercourse prevailing in the days preceding its redaction, and of the intellectual intercourse between the two countries.

Another source of corruption is the uncertainty of human memory. Names especially are subject to errors in the process of transmission.

We find, therefore, very frequently, that a tradition is reported in the name of A, B, and C, and an editorial remark is added: "Some say, in the name of D, E, and F."

No less frequent are such editorial glosses concerning opinions and subjects, as, for instance: "Some say, that the course of the discussion and its result are not as just reported, but ran thus."

These editorial glosses, so frequent in the Babylonian Talmud, serving on the one hand as adequate evidence of the uncertainties that arose during the period of its oral transmission, are, on the other hand, a guarantee of the great care given to accuracy of tradition, both in names and in substance.

It is strange, indeed, that writing should have proved more prejudicial to accuracy than oral delivery, yet such is the fact.

The main variations and corruptions of the Talmudic texts arose during the period following the reduction to writing, when each school procured a number of copies made by professional copyists. As soon as copying became a profession, the texts passed from the control of their traditional guardians, and became dependent on the greater or less faithfulness and care of the writers

—nay, even on the greater or less distinctness of the copyists' handwriting.

Who were the copyists? That they were not abundantly blessed with worldly goods, we should surmise, even were we not told in the Talmud, that the Men of the Great Assembly spent twenty-four days in fasting and in praying that the copyists of *S'farim*, *T'fillin*, and *M'zuzoth* might never grow rich, for, if they did, they would soon abandon their occupation.

Troubled minds are not apt to be very accurate. The Bible was under the control of the Massorah which had counted the words and the letters of the entire Scriptures, and given immutable fixity to spelling, to marks, and interspaces; but there was no such standard in existence for Talmudic books, and their texts were subject to the influences which affected the copyists and the Jewish people at large.

Persecutions and migrations from place to place could not but have a disturbing effect on the ease of mind required for painstaking accuracy in literary pursuits.

Consider the quiet and retirement from the noises of the world which the monks enjoyed in their cloisters and could well utilize for the preservation of the literatures of the world, ancient and modern, and contrast with it the troubles and toils, the fears and dangers, to which the dwellers of the Beth Hammidrash were subject as members of a homeless people.

Nay, not only the people of the Talmud, but even the Talmud itself was persecuted. As early as the sixth century the Mishnah was interdicted by the Emperor Justinian, as "a most execrable book," and the only reason why the Gemara was not subjected to the same treatment was that it did not yet exist in writing in his days.

"From Justinian," says my lamented friend, Emanuel Deutsch, "down to Clement VIII and later, . . . both the secular and the spiritual powers, kings and emperors, popes and anti-popes, vied with each other in hurling anathemas and bulls and edicts of wholesale confiscation and conflagration against this luckless book. Thus, within a period of less than fifty years—and these forming the latter half of the sixteenth century—it was publicly burnt no less than six different times, and that not in single copies, but wholesale, by the wagon-load. Julius III issued his proclamation against what he grotesquely calls the 'Gemaroth-Talmud' in 1553 and 1555, Paul IV in 1559, Pius V in 1566, Clement VIII in 1592 and 1599."

Twelve thousand copies were burned in the latter year in Italy alone.

"Pope Gregory IX, in 1239, decreed the cremation of the Talmud, and hundreds and thousands of copies were burnt in France and Italy. In 1264, Pope Clement IV set the penalty of death on whatsoever person should harbor a copy of the Talmud in his house." I quote this from the introduction to *Dikduke So'frim* by Rabbinowicz (of whom we shall have to speak yet to-night), as it refers to the period of copying books by hand.

Writing and selling the Talmud under such conditions must necessarily have had an injurious effect on the manner of its reproduction, not to speak of the abbreviations necessitated by poverty for the sake of saving space and costly material, and the confusion resulting therefrom. Final syllables, for instance, were marked by a little stroke on top, and the reader or the next following copyist had the choice between the singular and the

plural number, between the masculine and the feminine gender. An innumerable host of technical terms were indicated by initials, many of which allowed of two or three different interpretations.

Especially confusing are the abbreviations of proper names, initials like *Resh Yod* (ר"י), permitting the readings, Rabbi Yishak, Rabbi Judah, Rabbi Yishmael, Rabbi Jonathan, and so forth.

Hence it is not surprising that discrepancies, sometimes very material ones, exist between the few manuscript copies of the Talmud still extant in Munich and Rome, Oxford and Florence, Cambridge, Hamburg, and other seats of learning. It is surprising that there are no more of these variations, and that, on the arrival of the Talmudic text at its third stage, the printing period, it was possible to produce tolerably uniform and measurably correct editions.

The printing of the Talmud began as early as 1494 in Soncino. The luckless book was still under the ban of the papal and imperial interdicts, and even when, thanks to the untiring efforts of influential Jews and Christians, fortified by offers of bribes more or less open and direct, permission to print was granted (by Pope Leo X, in 1520), it was so guarded and restricted as to make a complete and accurate edition an impossibility. Passages believed to be hostile to Christianity were to be omitted, or, what is worse, modified, and the entire treatise '*Abodah Zarah*, containing laws concerning idolatry and dealing with idolaters, was to be suppressed from the Basle-Venice edition, the bad conscience of the censor making him suspect that idolatry in the Talmud was merely a disguise for Christianity.

Up to this day, wherever the sword of the censor has

not yet been sheathed, as, for instance, in Russia, that treatise, which, by the way, is a veritable treasure-house of antiquities, must be printed without the running title "'Abodah Zarah" on its pages.

That the permission granted by Leo X did not secure immunity from persecution, we learn from the fact mentioned before, that *autos-da-fé* were renewed at intervals from 1533 to 1599. In fact, when, in 1564, at the Council of Trent, the Italian Jews petitioned for permission to republish the Talmud, the license granted was, in spite of a vast amount of Jewish money in the pockets of the Bishops, still more restrictive. Even the title Talmud was to be omitted. We do not find, however, that the Italian printing houses availed themselves of this dubious mercy.

I shall pass over the deficiencies of the early editions, caused by the lack of experience in proof-reading, in order to say a word about the disfigurements of the printed texts through the ignorant fanaticism of the censors, and no less through the self-restriction which timid publishers practiced in order to protect their editions from governmental or Church interference.

A few instances will suffice to give you an idea of the confusion created through these censorial changes. In the countries under the control of the Catholic Church "Rome" was under the ban, and with it all the disguises it had assumed in early days, such as "Edom," "Aram," and the like. For "Rome" it was necessary to substitute "Persia," or "Greece," or "Egypt," or some other appellative.

Again, in countries where the Greco-Catholic or Orthodox Church was dominant, "Yavan" (Greeks) had to be avoided, and some other nationality had to take its place.

For example: In Megillah 11a, the Scriptural prophecy, "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, nor will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, to break my covenant with them, for I am the Lord their God,"—is made the subject of interpretation.

"I did not reject them" (says the Talmud) in the days of the Greeks (meaning the Maccabean days), "and I did not abhor them" in the days of Vespasian the Cæsar (meaning in the days of the destruction of the Temple, when the very existence of the Jewish people was threatened with dissolution); "to destroy them utterly" alludes to the persecution by Haman; "to break my covenant with them" refers to the days of the Romans—meaning those days of friendly intercourse between Rabbi Judah han-Nasi and his successors, and the Roman emperors Antoninus Pius and his successor, the philosopher, Marcus Aurelius.

In any edition of the Talmud issued after and copied from the Basle edition (1578–81) "Nebuchadnezzar" is found to be substituted for "Vespasian the Cæsar," and "the days of the Persians" for "the days of the Romans." Thus, it will be seen how the entire historical perspective is destroyed by these changes.

Another favorable opportunity for maltreatment by the censor was furnished by the word *nokhri* or *Goy* (stranger or gentile). It had to be changed wherever it pained the eye of the inquisitor, sometimes into *Accum*, an abbreviation for "worshiper of stars and planets", at other times into *Kuthi*, the name of the Samaritan sect which, in the early Talmudic days, played an important part in Jewish ritual legislation; at times, again, *Kuthi* appeared to the censor too thin a disguise

for *Christian*, and *Kushi* (Ethiopian or Negro) was inserted in its place, so that suddenly to the surprise of the Talmudic student the poor Negro appeared in a business transaction or in a ritual question.

Imagine the confusion which this promiscuous use of words creates, both in legal discussions and decisions and in historical and archaic allusions!

Only he who has lived under censorial supervision can form an idea of the depth of stupidity, in conjunction with bureaucratic petty tyranny, a censor is capable of displaying

“He who has no wife, lives without joy, without blessing, without good; without joy, for it is said, ‘And thou shalt rejoice, thou and thy house’; without blessing, for we read, ‘To cause a blessing to rest on thy house’; without good, for the Scripture says, ‘It is not good for man to be alone.’” (Yebamoth 62^b).

Who, but an incorrigible old bachelor, could have any objection to this gallant tribute to womanhood? Yet, the censors are shrewd men; they look into the hearts of those perfidious Talmudic teachers, and discover in this apparently harmless sentiment a malicious reflection on the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, sublimely oblivious of the anachronism.

And the censors, being wise men, knew how to turn aside an arrow hurled against their holy religion, and now we read, “A Yehudi that has no wife, lives without joy,” etc. The Church is saved, and the cursed Jews are permitted to worship wicked woman as they please, preparatory to the eternal damnation awaiting them, when they leave this home of the flesh.

A modern example although not bearing on Talmudic texts, may serve to illustrate censorial ingenuity:

"Man is the slave of his passions." Is there anything objectionable in this phrase to the most thin-skinned absolutist? Yet, a Russian censor discovered that the word *slave*, which, in the Slavic tongues, is rendered by *unfree*, awakens rebellious thoughts, which it were better to put to sleep again, ere they do any mischief. And this sentence, which appeared in a little school-book of exercises for translation from Polish into Hebrew and *vice versa*, was changed into, "Man is the Moor of his passions." Perhaps the poetic censor thought of Shakespeare and his "Othello."

Imagine, if you can, the condition, under such circumstances, of literature in general, and of Jewish literature in particular, always apt to arouse the censor's jealous suspicion; and again the most cruelly abused of all was, and in some places still is, the Talmud.

Even the latest editions, and even those published in free countries, show the traces of this maltreatment, and the task of purging the Talmud from these woful corruptions will have to call for the ingenuity and critical acumen of many a scholar, before they can be entirely eliminated.

With the exception, however, of these political changes, our printed editions, on the whole, show careful textual care, and compare favorably with the manuscripts extant.

In three successive centuries the text of the Babylonian Talmud has been revised by three critics of deep penetration and ingenious intuition.

Solomon Luria, known by the abbreviation, Maharshal, Joel Sirks, named after his work, *Bah* (an abbreviation of Beth Hadash), and Isaiah Berlin or Pick,—these three men, living in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth

centuries, respectively, have applied their vast erudition to the thankless task of reconstructing a correct text, as far as it could be done by comparing parallel passages and incidental quotations in the vast post-Talmudic literature, and by consulting the context.

Their services must be regarded as inestimable.

On a smaller scale, and in a more incidental way, in our own days, men like Rapoport, Reggio, Luzzatto, Krochmal, Schor, Geiger, Graetz, Carmoly, Perles, and a host of less well known scholars, have furnished contributions, more or less valuable, towards a restoration of the Talmud text, which the future editor of Mishnah and Gemara will have to consult and reckon with.

But all these contributions, from Maharshah down to Perles, are, as it were, personal equations, which may or may not be accepted, but at all events must be carefully sifted by the future editor. The main material for textual criticism lies in the manuscripts preserved, in their comparison with the earliest works on Talmudic subjects, and in the philological achievements of the most recent times in the province of Semitic studies.

To collect the material from manuscripts and early writers was the life-work, unfinished alas, of the late Raphael Rabinowicz.

Subventioned and assisted by a Mæcenas, himself a scholar and, strange to say a man of wealth,—the late Abraham Merzbacher, of Munich,—Rabinowicz succeeded in collecting and noting variants from all manuscripts accessible, as well as from the earliest and rarest editions, and from incidental early citations in the 'Arukh, the Talmudic dictionary of the eleventh century, and in many other books, published and unpublished.

To complete this collection should be the first of the preliminary tasks of the future editor.

But where will you find a man, like Rabbinowicz, combining vast erudition with utter self-abnegation, willing to do bricklayer's work for the future builder, contented, above all, with a sparse subsistence during his years of study, and ready to devote the intervals between the publication of one volume and the preparation of the next to travelling about and selling his work, in order to collect the means with which to pay his printer and his grocer?

Or where will you find a banker, like Merzbacher, with a library of rarest books, and liberality no less rare?

Of scholars qualified for the work there is no lack in Europe, but the time has passed when Jewish scholarship goes a-begging; it can afford to be begged, now that it finds a home in universities and colleges.

I lift up mine eyes to the mountains of Jewish wealth—whence will the banker come?

But, granted that there be the man and the means, we should have the material merely for a textually correct or nearly correct edition, one which might be called a Variorum edition of the Talmud.

A specimen of such an edition was furnished in the year 1886, when, at the suggestion of Professors Theodor Nöldeke and D. H. Müller, under the auspices of the International Oriental Congress, assembled in Vienna, the *lector* at the Vienna Beth Hammidrash, Mr. Mayer Friedman, tentatively edited one treatise of the Talmud, the treatise *Maccoth*, with critical notes and an occasional brief commentary in Hebrew.

Though I cannot approve of the style of the critical notes, and much less of the form of the commentary and

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critical remarks, which, to an uninitiated student, are as difficult to unriddle as the main text, yet Mr. Friedman has proved that he would be able to give us what is desired, if sufficiently endowed with means and leisure, and supported by the advice of competent collaborators in the field.

More difficult will it be to satisfy the demands of what, in our days, we call the Higher Criticism.

To borrow a metaphor from geology, there are, especially in the Gemara, layers representing different ages and epochs in the growth of this unique literature; but they have been inextricably fused by the skilful editorial hands that gave the Babylonian Gemara its present shape.

A critical eye can easily distinguish, but no hand can separate them without destroying the characteristic texture of the Talmud.

Permit me to give you a specimen of these geological strata.

Here is a Mishnah, at the beginning of *Pesahim*, saying, "On the evening of the fourteenth [of Nisan] leavened matter is to be searched for by candle light."

For "the evening," the Mishnah uses the word *Or* (אור), which commonly denotes *light*. The original meaning of the root *Or* (אור) is "to break through," and as we speak of the break of day and the breaking in of the night, so the Hebrew uses the word *Or* in that double sense, and the Mishnah, literally translated, reads: "At the breaking in of the fourteenth day leavened matter is searched for," etc.

Based on this double meaning of the word *Or*, a discussion is started in the Gemara: "What is *Or*? Rab Huna said, *Naghé*; Rab Judah said, *Lelé*. *Naghé* is the

Chaldaic equivalent of the Hebrew *Or*, having exactly the same double meaning of day-break and "night-break," but, like *Or*, more commonly used for *light*. Thus, Rab Huna translates *Or* with *Naghé*, and Rab Judah with *Lelé*, which means *night*." This is the first layer.

Now, in order to initiate the reader into the discussion following this philological controversy over the meaning of *Or*, an editorial remark is inserted, which says: "The first impression was that he who said *Naghé* meant really *Naghé* (that is, *light* or *morning*), as he who said *Lelé* meant really *Lelé* (*night*)."

After this editorial note, the flood-gates of discussion are opened.

Verse after verse from the Bible is adduced to prove that *Or* stands for daylight or for evening, respectively, and every argument for or against is refuted more or less ingeniously. Even this discussion is interspersed with incidental citations of older sayings connected with the interpretation of the quoted Bible verses.

The arguments from Biblical usage leaving the question as to the meaning of *Or* undecided, post-Biblical usage is adduced in favor of the one or the other of the two opinions, and a number of citations are made from Mishnahs, both such as have found a place in the collection of Rab Judah han-Nasi, and such as were not deemed worthy of his sanction, yet continued to live and to be studied from written copies or verbal tradition. These are all older elements, some of which can be traced to extant literature, while others would have been entirely lost but for the accident of this discussion. They form a third layer.

The argument *pro* and *con* ends with the indisputable evidence that the *Or* in the Mishnah, from which sprang

all this trouble, is meant for *night*, and the editorial remark, which introduced the discussion, is here continued, explaining that there was no difference of opinion between R. Huna and R. Judah, both meaning *evening*, only that in Rab Huna's home, the beginning of the night is called *Naghé*, whereas in R. Judah's home the more common word *Lelé* is used.

It may be remembered that it was the unwritten law of tradition that the report of the discussion must be verbatim, and for how many most interesting linguistic data we are indebted to this literal faithfulness!

Suppose a modern editor of the Talmud would, as has actually been proposed, discard the entire discussion on the meaning of *Or*, based on an erroneous presumption, contenting himself with the editorial observations which introduce and end the controversy, would not the scholarly world raise a well-justified protest against such a mutilation?

The recent attempt in this country at producing "the original Talmud," as the editor modestly called it, serves to illustrate the impossibility of severing the various layers without destroying the continuity of sense and logical development.

An abridged or "original" Talmud is neither possible nor desirable, the latest insertions and seemingly trivial digressions being as interesting as the earliest elements.

What we need for the future text of the Talmud is a differentiation of the various layers by differences of type.

I would suggest that a different type be used for the Mishnah, to distinguish it from the Gemara more clearly than in the present arrangement, and to make the different layers of the Gemara itself distinguishable

from one another, I would suggest that the main discussion be typographically differentiated from the digressions.

Again, some typographical device should be invented for making the citations of older traditional elements visible to the eye.

I would not favor a polychrome Talmud, after the manner of Prof. Haupt's edition of the Bible, its mere cost, if nothing else, being a sufficient reason for rejecting that idea. This, however, is a mere technical question.

What we need is a COMPLETE Talmud, with an approximately correct text and intelligible Variorum notes, and with a graphic illustration of the growth of the Talmudic text, from its beginning as a verbal tradition to its close and final redaction.

It is needless to say that a work of this kind would require the co-operation of the best scholars in the Jewish world and the financial support of the Jewish community at large.

Who will undertake it?

History will answer this question. I am content with having propounded it.

**JEWISH PHYSICIANS AND THE CONTRIBU-
TIONS OF THE JEWS TO THE
SCIENCE OF MEDICINE,**

BY

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JEWISH PHYSICIANS AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JEWS TO THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE.

BY AARON FRIEDENWALD, M. D.

An examination into the development of medicine among the ancient Jews forms a most interesting study. Among all other nations upon the decline of their political power there followed a decadence in the arts and in the sciences which they had developed and with the complete overthrow of their national independence their literature temporarily ceased, or was wholly consigned to oblivion. Annihilation of their religion was coincident with the death of their national power and they themselves were either destroyed by their conquerors or disappeared among them.

Such was not the case with the Jews. They had a religion which embraced their civil law before they had a country, and their religion and literature continued to flourish after they succumbed to their conquerors, and long after the power of their conquerors had ceased. Indeed, so far as the natural sciences are concerned, and notably so with medicine, the Jews began their greatest work after Rome had devastated the holy city.

The institutions, which gave them their national character before they had a country of their own, maintained that character after the loss of their country and inspired them with a spiritual and an intellectual vigor which enabled them to become the leaders in the promotion of science wherever they were permitted to dwell.

Egypt had developed a high civilization long before the four centuries during which the Jews had sojourned there. It reached the zenith of its glory about the 17th century B. C., during a part of which period Moses was receiving his education under royal favor. Medicine especially had achieved a marvelous advancement at this time.

The papyri of Leipsic and Berlin (the papyri of Ebers) shed important light upon the great progress which medical science had made. The Leipsic papyri present the conjoined work of a number of contributors, written it is assumed between 1550 and 1547 B. C., but representing knowledge which was the growth of a much earlier period. Among the associate editors of this work there appears one Byblos, an oculist of Phoenicia. This indicates that science had already assumed somewhat of an international character.

From this important piece of literature we glean that the practice of medicine was divided into specialties, to the extent that there were special physicians for the diseases of nearly all of the important organs of the body. When the services of one of these physicians were required, a messenger was sent to the temple (the practice of medicine being embraced in the function of the priests) and, according to a description of the ailment, a physician was despatched to the relief of the sufferer.

These ancient Egyptians were quite familiar with a large number of drugs, many of which, viz.: opium, strychnia, squill, etc., have maintained a high rank among the more prominent agents of the most modern materia medica. A large number of prescriptions that have been preserved manifest that the apothecary had well learned his trade. Operative surgery had made no

mean progress. Cupping by means of horns sawed off near their point, and general blood-letting had been introduced. Lithotomy (cutting for stone in the bladder) was performed with great dexterity. Amputations were practiced as is shown by pictures found at Thebes and Denderah. Ophthalmic surgery had made great strides, and it is regarded as quite probable that operations for cataract were in vogue. The dental art was not neglected, for artificial teeth have been discovered in mummies.

It is rather surprising, in view of the advanced culture of medical knowledge among the Egyptians, that there should be no evidence that the Jews took much of this knowledge with them when they left the country. The only reference occurring in the Pentateuch in this regard is what is written about the art of the apothecary* in the directions given as to the oil of holy ointment and the incense. The explanation for this may be that medicine up to that period, and for centuries afterwards, was a monopoly of the priesthood, and, furthermore, it may be fairly assumed that the enslaved condition of the Jews precluded the acquisition of such knowledge.

There is another reference, in which the Egyptian physicians are mentioned, relating to the embalming of the body of Jacob. While this cannot be properly brought in relation with Egyptian medicine, as known by the Jews, it has the interest of rejecting the conclusion of some of the writers on the development of anatomy in Egypt, who assert that embalming was a trade, and those engaged in it were not of a character to have benefitted the science of anatomy. In the 50th chapter of Genesis, v. 11, we read, "And Joseph commanded his

* Exodus, Chapter XXX., v. 25 and v. 35.

servants and physicians to embalm his father, and the physicians embalmed Israel."

The knowledge of the obstetric art among the Jews in Egypt was probably of a simple character and uninfluenced by Egyptian science. Shiphrah and Puah, two Hebrew midwives, mentioned in the 1st chapter of Exodus, who feared God and did not as the King of Egypt commanded them, to kill all male children during their birth, said in their defense, when arraigned before the King, "The Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women, for they are lively and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them." The strongest evidence, however, that the early development of medicine among the Jews was uninfluenced by their sojourn in Egypt is that not only are drugs not mentioned in the Bible, but even the Talmud speaks of but very few, when it is known that the remedies employed by the Egyptians were very numerous. This evidence becomes stronger when we consider that the giving of drugs, when at hand, in the treatment of diseases has at all times and among all nations had an especial charm, commonly too strong, the deleterious tendencies of which even the modern great advancement of the science has not been fully able to overcome.

In consulting the Bible as to what was known of medicine by the Jews in the early period, and soon reaching the conclusion that they were not indebted to Egypt in this respect, we are immediately confronted by the revelation that at this early period there were sanitary laws promulgated among them, which have remained a continuous lesson to the whole world ever since. A recent distinguished writer on the history of medicine says in regard to this: "It corresponds to the reality in both the

actual and chronological point of view to consider the Jews (Moses) as the creators of the science of public hygiene.¹ In the injunctions given in Leviticus, regarding leprosy, we find the three cardinal principles mentioned which regulate the management of contagious diseases by the science of to-day, viz.: careful differentiation, isolation and disinfection.

The teachings of Moses in regard to disease rests upon a basis which is the underlying principle in the preservation of health. He enjoins his people to obey God's laws so that they may be shielded from the plagues of Egypt.² Diseases are held up before them as a punishment of sin. Science teaches that violations of nature's laws will be followed by diseases, and the experience of every-day life is full of illustrations of the frequent relation of sin and suffering as cause and effect. Nature's laws are God's laws, and the edict against their violation cannot be changed. Whenever the individual has succeeded in disciplining himself to live in accordance with these laws he becomes an example of moral purity. Wheresoever the community fulfills its duty collectively in this respect, there we shall find the wisest legislation for the suppression of vice and the most complete system of public hygiene.

The treatment of diseases, according to the Pentateuch, was exclusively in the hands of the priests. The practice of medicine remained with the priesthood after the occupation of Palestine by the Israelites. There are a number of cases mentioned, among which are the leprosy of Miriam,* the diseases of the Philistines for having

1. Baas' Outlines of the History of Medicine. Henderson's English Translation, p. 34.

2. Exodus 15, v. 36.

*Numbers, XII., 10.

seized the ark of the covenant,† the melancholy of Saul,‡ the plague during the reign of David. The treatment applied in these cases, consisting of prayer and expiation by sacrifices, cannot be classed with the art of medicine among the Jews. The same holds good as to what is related in this regard when later the prophets became the physicians. We read of Jeroboam's hand having become withered;¹ the restoration to life of Zerreppath's child by Elias;² Elisha's cure of the son of the Shumanite,³ and his treatment of Nathan, the Assyrian General, of leprosy;⁴ and the gout of King Asa.⁵

Instances in which natural means were resorted to are not altogether wanting. Isaiah cured King Hezekiah of a glandular affection by the application of a cataplasm of figs;⁶ Ezekiel describes clearly the treatment of fractures when he says, "Son of Man, I have broken the arm of Pharoah, King of Egypt; and lo! it shall not be bound up, to be healed, to put a roller to bind it, to make it strong to hold the sword."⁷ In this connection it may be mentioned that tradition attributes to King Solomon a work on the treatment of diseases by natural means, which it is alleged was destroyed by Ezekias, because it was detrimental to the Levites, who healed diseases by expiatory sacrifices.⁸

ESSENES.

The time following the prophets, Malachi being the

† Samuel, LV., 6.

‡ Samuel, LXVI., 23.

1. 1 Kings, XIII.

2. 1 Kings, XIV.

3. 1 Kings, XVII.

4. 2 Kings, V.

5. 2 Chronicles, XVI.

6. 2 Kings, 20.

7. Ezekiel, XXX.

8. Talmud, Pesachim, ch. 10, p. 56.

last who lived about 400 B. C., was not propitious for the development of medicine. It was a time of political upheavals, religious persecutions and war, which at one period subjected the Jews to Syrian, at another to Egyptian domination.

At this period the scholars, learned in the law, took the place of the prophets in leading the people, but as these adhered very strictly to what was traditional, and only communicated their knowledge orally, there could not be much advancement in science. At the same time the priesthood degenerated and there arose in consequence a number of sects, among which the Essenes assumed a somewhat prominent role. This sect has the interest for us that besides adopting a life of self-abnegation, the marked features of which were celibacy and the discarding of private possession, through which they strove to reach the highest state of moral purity, they were credited with great success in the healing of the sick. Their methods consisted largely of mystic practices, such as softly spoken incantations and the use of certain roots and stones to which they attributed magic power. They are said to have made use of the medical work written by King Solomon. (*Séfer Refuot*) already referred to.*

TALMUDIC MEDICINE.

When finally the Jewish state had to yield to the power of Rome, and the Temple lay in ashes, and everything material betokened national ruin, there arose a new hope, for while all else was lost the Jewish scholars had not surrendered their intellectual activity. Schools were organized for the preservation of the law, in many places widely separated from each other. These schools

* Graetz, *History of the Jews* (American Edition) Vol. II., p. 29.

were planted at Jabneh, Nahardia, Mathae-Mechasja, Sura, Alexandria and Tiberias. In these schools, dedicated mainly to the study of the law, all the sciences of that day were taught, among which the healing art was earnestly cultivated and the foundation laid of what we designate Talmudic medicine.

The following embraces a brief summary of some of the more important knowledge which comes under this heading. Fever was regarded as nature's efforts to expel mortific matter and restore health; which is a much safer interpretation of fever, from a practical point of view, than most of the theories bearing on this point that have been taught up to a very recent period. They attributed the halting in the hind legs of a lamb to a callosity formed around the spinal cord. This was a great advance in the knowledge of the physiology of the nervous system. An emetic was recommended as the best remedy for nausea. In many cases no better remedy is known to-day. They taught that a sudden change in diet was injurious, even if the quality brought by the change were better. That milk fresh from the udder was the best. The Talmud describes jaundice and correctly ascribes it to the retention of bile, and speaks of dropsy as due to the retention of urine. It teaches that atrophy or rupture of the kidneys is fatal. Induration of the lungs (tuberculosis?) was regarded as incurable. Suppuration of the spinal cord had an equally grave meaning. Rabies was known. The following is a description given of the dog's condition: "His mouth is open, the saliva issues from his mouth; his ears drop; his tail hangs between his legs; he runs sideways, and the dogs bark at him; others say that he barks himself, and that his voice is very weak." No man has appeared

who could say that he has seen a man live who was bitten by a mad dog.* The description is good, and this prognosis as to Hydrophobia in man has remained unaltered till in our day when Pasteur published his startling revelation. The anatomical knowledge of the Talmudists was derived chiefly from dissection of animals. As a very remarkable piece of practical anatomy, for its very early date, is the procuring of the skeleton from the body of a prostitute by the process of boiling, by Rabbi Ishmael, a physician, at the close of the 1st century. He gives the number of bones as 252 instead of 232. The Talmudists knew the origin of the spinal cord at the *foramen magnum* and its form of termination; they described the oesophagus as being composed of two coats; they speak of the pleura as the double covering of the lungs; and mention a special coat for the fat about the kidneys. They had made progress in obstetrics; described monstrosities, congenital deformities; practiced version, evisceration and Caesarian section upon the dead, and upon the living mother.† The surgery of the Talmud includes a knowledge of dislocation of the thigh bone, contusions of the skull, perforation of the lungs, oesophagus, stomach, small intestines and gall bladder; wounds of the spinal cord, wind-pipe, of fractures of the ribs, etc. (They described imperforate anus and how it was to be relieved by operation).‡ Chanina Ben Chania inserted natural and wooden teeth as early as the 2nd century, C. E.

* Talmud, Treatise Berochath, Chapter 4-

† A. H. Israels has clearly shown in his "Dissertatia Historico-Medica Inauguralis" that Caesarian Section, according to the Talmud, was performed among the Jews with safety to mother and child.

‡ The above account of the progress of Talmudic Medicine has been mainly taken from Baas' History of Medicine.

CHANINA BEN CHANIA ; RAB, SAMUEL.

The first three prominent names which we meet in studying the character of the ancient Jewish physicians at this period are Chanina, Samuel and Rab.

Chanina was the pioneer. He became the physician Rabbi Jehuda Hanasi, son of Simeon, who died in the year 205. Chanina has the credit of inserting natural and artificial teeth as early as the 2nd century.

Rab distinguished himself in his earnest study of anatomy. He expended large sums of money in procuring subjects for dissection. Galen, the great ancient authority in medicine, who lived about the same time, relied altogether in his study of anatomy on the dissection of apes. Rab's name therefore, deserves to be preserved among those who led the way in scientific research.

Samuel, born 180, the close friend of Rab, acquired greater fame as a practitioner of medicine. After having practiced in Palestine, he settled in Nehardea, a city in lower Mesopotamia. He was known as a skillful accoucheur, and had no less a reputation as an oculist. He relieved Jehudi Hanasi, the compiler of the Mishnah, of an affection of the eye, employing a remedy which bears his name, the collyrion of Samuel.* He was highly honored for his great knowledge of astronomy. His great learning in the law placed him at the head of the school in Nahardea, and it is not out of place here to mention of him that he established the principle "Dina d' Malchutha Dina," that the civil law of the Government is as valid for the Jews as their own law. (He died in 254.)†

* Talmud, Treatise Sabbath, page 105.

† Mielziner, Introduction in the Talmud, p. 44.

There were many Jewish physicians during the 4th century, among whom Abba Oumna stands prominently, for, besides the great experience and skill which he acquired in his profession, his reputation for practicing the most refined benevolence became wide spread. Of the many tributes which are recorded, as testifying to the nobility of his character, there is one which specially deserves to be related. Abbaye, one of the wisest and most distinguished men of the age, sent two of his pupils to him who were sick. He received them kindly and ministered to their wants and gave them shelter for the night besides. On leaving on the following day they took with them the carpet which had covered the floor, and afterwards placed themselves where they were certain they would be met by their physician, in the attitude of having the carpet for sale. "What is this carpet worth," they asked. He named a sum. "Not more," they said. "No," he replied, "for it is the same exactly which I paid for one just like it." "Noble man!" they exclaimed, "it is your carpet. Did you not think ill of us when you missed it?" "Certainly not," was the Doctor's answer, "do you indeed believe that a child of Israel could think ill of anyone, and form an unfavorable judgment of his neighbor for one fault that he might have committed? I felt sure that no evil use would be made of the carpet, so let things remain as they are, sell the carpet and give the money to the poor."*

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JEWS TO ARABIC MEDICINE.

After the completion of the Talmud in the 5th century there were two centuries in which all sciences, medicine among the rest, suffered a decided decline. During this

*Carmoly. *History of Jewish Physicians.*

time there appears no physician who deserves mention here. The period marks the fall of the Persian Empire, the conquest of the Arabians and many revolutions which greatly disturbed the work of the Oriental Academies. The Eastern Roman Empire had passed its period of glory. Degeneracy and retrogression marked the age.

The birth of Mohamed inaugurated a new era. Two centuries of darkness had prevailed. The place of true science had been usurped by all sorts of superstitions. The Cabala assumed a mighty power. I quote from Carmoly.* "When they treated disease the object aimed at was to put in action the corresponding powers of the superior worlds; which could only be accomplished by one who, by a study of the Cabala, had obtained the knowledge of these worlds, and who, by his piety and contemplation, had become worthy of holding communion with the celestial powers. These qualities were deemed much more necessary for the practice of medicine than all terrestrial knowledge which is so often found deficient." The frequent religious persecutions directed against the Jews during this epoch, proved specially detrimental to the cause of medicine, which they previously had done so much to develop. But light again arose with the great Arabian Empire, which in a short time had conquered half of the then known world. It was not only a religious enthusiasm which characterized this new great power among the nations, but also the high standard of culture to which the Arabs attained; greatly overshadowing the western world. The caliphs became the great patrons of science. The conquest of Palestine, Syria and Egypt facilitated the acquaintance

* Dunbar's Translation of Carmoly; History of Jewish Physicians, p. 21.

with the intellectual achievements of the Greeks. The Arabs despised only such knowledge as was opposed to the Koran, but fostered with zeal History, Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicine. *Hyrtl* defends them of the charge of having completely destroyed the Alexandrian Library. Medical works and works relating to natural history were spared, and only religious and philosophical works in conflict with the Koran were destroyed.*

There was a new field for intellectual activity and the ancient love for science revived among the Jews. Bagdad, Kufa, and Basra became seats of learning in the 8th and 9th centuries, and the Jews became noted for their share in the fame which these institutions acquired.

MASER DJAWAH.

Maser Djawah Ebn Djeldjal, of Basra, assumed a very prominent role at this time. He was a celebrated physician, but in addition made a great reputation for himself as a poet, critic and philosopher. He taught the Arabians in the arts and sciences. He was rewarded for his achievements in being made physician to the Caliph *Moawia I.* (7th century). He induced the Caliph to secure translations of works written in foreign languages and place them within reach of the rest of the world.

His pupil *Kalid*, the grandson of the Caliph, translated many Greek books, especially on chemistry, into Arabic. *Moama Djawah* himself had already, in 683, translated the Pandects of *Haroun*, an illustrious physician of Alexandria, into Syriac. This work gave a disquisition on small pox, and it may fairly be credited as the course at which the world since must trace its knowledge of that import-

* *Hyrtl*. Das Arabische und Hebraische in der anatomie.

ant disease. This statement is based upon the fact that "there is no proof that small pox was known either to the ancient Greeks or Romans."*

Contemporaneous with Maser Djawah, other Hebrew physicians established a celebrated medical school at Djondisabour, in Khusistan. Students were attracted from all parts, seeking knowledge at this institution, because its teachers were recognized as the most celebrated physicians of that time. Clinical instruction, which is generally regarded as an exclusive growth of modern times, was already at this early period imparted in a hospital situated in the vicinity of the school. So great was the reputation of this seat of learning that those who received their education here were deemed qualified to hold positions as professors in medical schools.

ISAAC BEN EMRAN.

Abn Giaffir Almansur, the 2d Caliph of his dynasty, having a high appreciation of the healing art, enriched the new city of Bagdad with many works on medicine, astronomy and philosophy, which he had translated from the works of Galen, Aristotle and Ptolemy. This soon led to the celebrity of the Bagdad school. Isaac Ben Emran was one of its distinguished pupils. His meritorious progress attracted the attention of Zaid, an African emir of Kaironan, the chief city of Barbary, who made him his physician. He wrote on the symptoms caused by poisons and on other subjects. He died 799.

JOSHUA BEN NUN.

In the early part of the 9th century Joshua Ben Nun

* Practice of Medicine, by Geo. B. Wood, p. 387, Vol. I.

shed great lustre upon the celebrated school at Bagdad, being one of its most noted professors. He attracted many physicians to this school, and did very much to extend the knowledge of medicine. He greatly promoted the translation of scientific works into Arabic, the most fruitful field at that time for the spread of knowledge; a field in which Maser Djawah had been the pioneer.

Towards the close of the 9th century the cultivation of science received a marked impetus. A large number of books in all languages reached Bagdad from all directions and many Greek works enriched the library of this city; this having been one of the conditions of peace exacted from Emperor Michel III., who was conquered in battle. Many new schools arose throughout the empire at this time. The power of this activity in intellectual culture beyond the confines of Asia. In Alexandria learning was revived; Fez and Morocco, Sicily and Provence joined in the movement. Spain became noted for the part assumed in the diffusion of the oriental sciences. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Grenada, and Saragossa attained proud positions as seats of learning. Libraries multiplied in these cities. Jewish scholars entered with great zeal into this earnest promotion of science. They did not remain satisfied with simply translating works of the Arabic authors, but distinguished themselves in contributing new knowledge in their writings, especially was this true in the science of medicine.

Meschalla was both a great physician and a distinguished astronomer of this time. Carmoly states in his book on Jewish physicians that he possesses two treatises by Meschalla; one on "Astronomical Problems," and the other on "The Eclipse of the Sun and Moon," both

translated into Hebrew by Eben Esra. His works on astronomy continued to be held in high esteem in Europe over four centuries after his death.

The invasion of Western Europe by the Arabs created a taste for science in the various countries in which ignorance had heretofore prevailed, and it was here that the Jews were the first and most earnest to take up the work in the cause of science.

Prominent among these Jewish scholars were Meschulam ben Kalonymos, Joseph ben Gorion, Moses ben Jehuda, Todros of Narbonne, Joseph ben Levi and Zedikia. The latter stood foremost as the leader in this epoch, being the physician of Louis the Meek, and of his successor Charles the Bald. He was held in high favor by his royal master, who spoke of him as "My faithful Judah."* He died in 880, honored by all who knew him.

While at last science found a foothold in the West, the schools of the East maintained their prestige. Here the Jewish schools continued to increase in number, and competed with the Christian Schools to that extent as to evoke the jealousy of the Arabians. As a consequence Caliph Montawakkel decreed in 853 that Jewish and Christian students should only be taught in the Hebrew and Syriac languages, interdicting the use of Arabic in their studies. Isaac ben Amram and Isaac ben Soleiman, the most learned physicians of their time, received their education in these schools.

Isaac ben Amram became very celebrated through the remarkable cures which he effected, through the many students who flocked to him, and through his writings, which were highly commended by the Arabian authors.

* Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Vol. III., p. 170, American Edition.

Isaac Soleiman, surnamed Abou Jacob, better known as D'Israeli, was the most celebrated pupil of Isaac ben Amram. He was born in Egypt in 832. He entered upon his career as an oculist, but removed later on to Kaironan and entered upon general practice. His genius and learning soon won for him such renown that he was made the physician of Abou Mahomed Abd-Alli Mahdi, King of Africa. He secured great fame by his writings, but was not less distinguished for the nobility of his character. He was a very prolific writer on medical subjects, and he also wrote several books on Philosophy and Logic. Carmoly furnishes a list of 17 separate works written by him in Arabic, which were translated into Hebrew and Latin :

1. Treatise on Fevers, in five books, superior to anything written on the subject before his time.
2. Treatise on simple medicines and ailments ; a work continually quoted by the Arabic physicians.
3. Treatise on Ailments and Remedies ; known in Hebrew as *Sefer ha Mesaadrim*.
4. Treatise on the Elements ; translated into Hebrew by the celebrated Abraham ben Chasdai.
5. Treatise on the Urine, translated into Hebrew by Contasti, as is shown by a copy in the National Library of Paris (Amien, No. 408).
6. An Abridgment on the Treatise of the Urine.
7. Treatise on Definitions and Prescriptions.
8. Introduction of Medicine.
9. Treatise on the Pulse ; a work quoted by Ibin Abi Osaiba.

10. Treatise on Theriaca, quoted by same historian.
11. Treatise on Philosophy, in twelve parts.
12. Garden of Philosophy; a work on Jewish Theology.
13. Introduction to Logic; likewise quoted by Ibin Abi Osaiba.
14. Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah.
15. Treatise on Melancholy. MSS. in the National Library of Paris.
16. Treatise on Dropsy. MSS. also in the above mentioned Library.
17. A work dedicated to a practical course on almost all diseases. The work translated into Hebrew under the title *Jair Nalib*, in MSS. is in the Library of De Rossi, at Parma.

He died in 932, upwards of one hundred years of age. His complete works were published in Leyden as late as 1515, nearly 600 years after his death.

With the Arabs a number of learned Jews emigrated to Sicily and founded the celebrated schools of Tarentum, Palermo, Salernum and Bari, in which the science of medicine was carefully cultivated.

Schabtai Donolo, who had studied at Tarentum, and probably also at Salernum, flourished about the middle of the 10th century. He rose to great distinction as a physician and as an astronomer. Carmoly rightly infers that inasmuch as no reference is made by any of the ancient doctors to his medical writings that these must have been lost.* *Steinschneider* (1868) recently published a Hebrew Treatise on Pharmaceutics, written about the

* *Baas's History of Medicine*, Henderson, p. 259.

middle of the 10th century by a Jew who styles himself "Sabbatai ben Abraham, called Donolo, the Physician." This work treats of 120 drugs, all from the vegetable kingdom, with their modes of preparation. According to Haeser it bears the stamp of originality.

THE SCHOOL OF SALERNUM.

The Jews had no small share in establishing the character of this seat of learning. This school had a rather obscure beginning. It is claimed that it dates back to the 6th century, but its first definite mention is in 846, and it did not develop into its memorable significance till the 11th century. During many centuries it had no rival in Europe save the school of Montpellier. It attracted a large number of students who came from various countries, and therefore many languages had to be used in the instruction given. Pontius taught in Greek, Abd Alla in Arabic, and Elisha in Hebrew. A compendium of medicine was published from this school about 1035, and had as one of its contributors a Jew named Copho. Many of the Jewish physicians who afterwards became eminent received their training in this school. Among the female physicians who taught at Salernum was one Rebecca, in the 13th century, who published several treatises on medical subjects.*

THE SPANISH JEWISH PHYSICIANS.

A very noted period in the history of Medicine is included between the 10th and 13th centuries; a development upon an Arabian-Jewish basis, in the domain of Spain. In the advancement which medicine made at this time, Jewish physicians took a noteworthy part.

* Landau, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Aerzte*, p. 80.

Chasdai ben Sprot, became renowned as physician, astronomer, statesman and poet. He was made Prime Minister by Abdul Rahman III. He therefore had the advantage, from the office which he filled, to obtain information regarding his brethren in foreign countries through ambassadors received at Court. It was he that discovered the existence of the Jewish Kingdom of the Khozars. He communicated with Joseph the reigning Monarch, in 948. Graetz speaks of this distinguished man as having only a theoretical knowledge of medicine.* According to Arabian writers he had contributed vastly to medical literature, and especially to *materia medica*. He translated all the names of the medicines described in the treatise of Dioscorides.

The Jews were especially active in promoting the progress of medicine in the 10th century. Three great names of this period deserve our consideration. Haroun of Cordova, Jehuha Chaïoug of Fez, and Amram of Toledo.

Haroun's fame began in the year 965, when he became professor of medicine in the school of his native city. He published a commentary on Ebn Sina in 975.

Chaïoug became a celebrity at the school of Kairoun, which at that time was in high repute with the great Arabian schools of learning. He also wrote a commentary on Ebn Sina, which is said to have had even greater merit than that of Haroun.

Emran ben Isaac gained great reputation in the practice of the healing art in Toledo. He was put to death by the Governor of Seville in 997. There remains no notice of anything that he has written, although he is

* History of the Jews, Vol. III., p. 216.

reputed to have been a great scholar in medicine, philosophy and astrology.

MEDICINE OF THE RABBIS.

The study of medicine having been introduced in the schools of the Rabbis in the commencement of the 11th century, it made very decided advancement. The Rabbis had attained such skill and renown in the practice of medicine that their superiority was generally acknowledged. They became the physicians of princes and prelates; the close intercourse which they held with the latter often drew them in unpleasant and occasionally unfortunate religious controversies. So great was their reputation that Huarte, one of the best minds Spain ever produced, endeavored to show by Galenical theories that their temperament naturally gave them a great advantage in adaptability to medicine. Popes and prelates employed them; although canons declared that no Jew would be permitted to become a physician, or to attend a Christian. The greatest merit of the Jewish physicians of the time is that they founded the plan of the medical school of Montpellier.

Montpellier existed as a city as early as the 9th century. There were at this time Jewish schools in many towns of Languedoc and Provence, especially at Arles and Narbonne about the year 1000. Dr. Rabbi Abou, grandfather of Moses Ha Darschon, was at the head of the last named school. While religion was the most important subject of instruction, medicine was also taught. One of his pupils, whose name is not mentioned and who wrote a medical work at Montpellier in 1025, is regarded as the probable founder of the medical school of that city.*.

* Carmoly's Jewish Physicians, Dunbar's Translation, p. 38.

This work is referred to as the "Book of Medicine" by a number of authors of the 12th century.

About the same period Jonah ben Gonach figured at Saragossa. He was born in Cordova. He wrote a work on simple medicines which was very favorably commented upon by Ebn Abi Osaiba, a distinguished physician of Damascus of the 13th century and a great authority on the biography of physicians. Gonach was not prominent, however, in medicine alone. He had a great fondness for the study of Hebrew grammar and subjected the work of Jehuda Chaiong to a very severe criticism. His Hebrew grammar, written in Arabic, was translated into Hebrew by Jehuda Ebn Tybbon, also a noted physician. Gonach died about the year 1068.

The 11th century produced a great number of Jewish physicians, who besides shedding lustre upon their profession, won laurels in many other fields of learning.

Their fame was established in both Christian and Musselman countries. Their praise was heard in Egypt, France and Germany. Space will not permit even the simple mention of all their names.

EBN ZOHAR (AVENZOAR).

The most distinguished physician of the 12th century was Abou Merwan Ebn Zohar, born at Pentaflor, 1070, he reached the advanced age of 92 years. Both his father and grandfather had been physicians of note, and therefore it was probable that he was initiated in the study of medicine at an early age. He was well equipped for the practice of his profession, and he soon rose to distinction. Poisonings were often perpetrated at this time. He cured the King of Seville, whose physician he was, of the effects of poison given by his own

family. The relatives of the King, finding themselves thwarted, persecuted the worthy physician and put him in prison for a long time. When the King was driven from Spain by Joseph ben Tachefyn, Prince of Morocco, Eben Zohar regained his liberty, and had honor and wealth bestowed upon him. He entered the services of the generous prince, and was appointed to a medical chair in which he taught for many years and did much to spread and extend the knowledge of medicine among the Arabs. Ebn Roschid (Averros) was his pupil, whose reputation was of that character that his compendium of medicine was published as late as 1531. The pupil says the following of his master: "In order to arrive at a profound knowledge of medicine it is necessary to read carefully the works of Ebn Zohar, which are the real treasure of the art, and we are indebted to his family for the true science of medicine."* He was in close intercourse with most of the great physicians of his time, by whom he was regarded as a second Hippocrates. He was a bold thinker, and had the courage to question the teachings of Galen, which must be regarded as a real piece of heroism at that time. He was versed in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic alike, and esteemed an elegant writer in both poetry and prose. He is reputed to have been the first to discover the parasite of scabies (the itch).†

The following is a list of his medical works:

1. Tessier, a work on Remedies and Regimen.
2. A Treatise on the Cure of Diseases.
3. Two Treatises on Fevers.

He wrote very clearly on laxatives and purgatives.

* Dunbar's *Jewish Physicians*, by Carmoly, p. 45.

† Landau "Geschichte der Jüdischen Aerzte," p. 32.

He speaks of phthisis, general wasting caused by ulceration of the stomach as a new disease. He reports a remarkable case of tumor of the stomach. He studied inflammation of the mediastinum and pericardium. He describes angina produced by paralysis of the oesophagus, and proposed to treat the condition by means of remedies applied through a long tube. He mentions aphonia caused by schirrous enlargement of the tongue. He had correct ideas of the effects of marsh exhalations. He bled his own son, aged 3 years, with success.

ABEN ESRA.

Abraham ben Meir Aben Esra, was born in Toledo in 1092. He was endowed by nature with genius which enabled him to master almost all the sciences. He devoted himself to earnest study at an early age. He mastered the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic languages, and besides acquiring great fame for his Jewish learning, he ranked as a celebrated physician and was well versed in astronomy, grammar, philosophy, and mathematics. His thirst for knowledge induced him to undertake extended journeys to foreign lands. He visited France, Italy, Greece, Palestine, Syria and Persia. He also reached India, where he was imprisoned, but fortunately escaped, returned to Europe and finally travelled to England. He left an unpublished work on "Theoretical and Practical Medicine," in nine parts. This, which seems to have been originally written in Arabic, is found in the National Library of Paris in the Hebrew tongue. The work bears the title "Sefer Hanisionot," book of proofs, because he speaks only of remedies which have been tried and approved. Like many other great men he had to contend with poverty, to which he alludes in

the following striking words: "I strive to become wealthy but the stars are opposed to me. If I were to engage in shroud-making, men would cease dying, or if I made candles the sun would never set unto the hour of my death."* He died in 1167.

The cruel wars between the Mohammedans and Christians forced many of the Jewish scholars from Spain, who found a refuge and position in the middle provinces of France, where Jewish schools had already been established. Prominent among these were Jehuda Aben Tybbon and Joseph ben Kimchi.

Jehuda Aben Tybbon acquired great renown as a translator, which seems to have overshadowed his reputation as a physician. From letters addressed to his son Samuel, who also was a physician, we learn that he was deeply interested in medicine, and especially in botany and pharmacy.

Joseph ben Kimchi emigrated from Southern Spain to Narbonne, and has the credit of introducing the culture of Spain into the South of France. His acquirements in other fields of knowledge, apparently exceeded that which characterized him as a physician.

MOSES BEN MAIMON.

Maimonides was born in Cordova, 1135. He received his first instruction from his father, who was Judge at Cordova. He not only developed into one of the most learned of Jewish scholars of any time, but also secured the wide spread fame of being one of, if not, the most skillful physicians of his day. Religious persecutions drove him from Spain. He settled for a short time at Fez. Here he fared no better, and having been forced

* Graetz's History of the Jews, Vol. 3, p. 389.

to adopt Islamism, at least so far as outward appearances required, he sought a refuge in Egypt, where he formally proclaimed his adherence to Judaism.

He began his career in Egypt by engaging in commerce; his talents however soon became known and he was made the physician of Alfadl-al-Rahim, and subsequently Saladdin appointed him his first physician. Here he attained to great influence, and Osaiba, the great medical biographer, to whom we have already referred, gives the testimony that he was foremost among the physicians of his time.

In a letter to Samuel Aben Tybbon, he gives an account of how his professional duties keep him uninterruptedly occupied from early morning to deep into the night, often leading to great physical exhaustion.

He was a voluminous writer on medical subjects, Some of his works were published in their Latin translation in Bologna and Basel as late as 1570. He died 1204, aged about 70 years. The vastness of his intellect was equalled by the refinement of his moral nature. The closing sentences of his daily prayer on entering upon the duties of his profession bear testimony to this.

“Preserve, O Lord, the strength of my body and of my soul, that I may ever be preparing cheerfully to aid and to assist the rich and the poor; and him who is my friend. In the afflicted let me ever only see the man.”*

Medical works of Maimonides :

1. Medical Aphorisms; translated into Hebrew by Nathan Hamati, a copy of which is preserved in the National Library, Paris.

* Landau Geschichte der Judischen Aerzte, p. 84.

2. Abridgement of the sixteen books of Galen; an Arabic work, quoted by Osaiba.
3. Treatise on Hæmorrhoids and their Treatment; National Library, Paris.
4. Consultation on Snuffling of the Nose and Throat.
5. Treatise on Poisons and Antidotes. The translation by Aben Tybbon, in the National Library, Paris.
6. Treatise on Coition. The Hebrew translation in the National Library, Paris.
7. Asthma. Hebrew translation in National Library, Paris.
8. Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates.
9. Of the Regimen of Health. National Library, Paris, is in possession of Hebrew and Arabic copies.
10. Hebrew Translation of Ebn Sena. MSS. in Library of the Dominicans at Bologne.
11. Explanation of Drugs. An Arabian Pharmacopœia, quoted by Osaiba.
12. Medical Consultations. Hebrew MSS., National Library, Paris.
13. Modes of Curing those Bitten of Venomous Animals, or who have been Poisoned. A Hebrew translation of this work, National Library, Paris.
14. Treatise on the Causes of Disease. Arabic, Bodleian Library.
15. Sefer Refuot. Sabtai asserts that MSS. is in Imperial Library of Vienna.
16. Sefer ha Nimza.
17. Abridgement of the Work of Ebn Sina. Arabic; Escorial Library.

While Maimonides was enjoying such an unrivalled fame in Egypt there was another Jewish physician in the service of Saladin of no mean acquirements. Nathaniel Israeli was born at Fostat, and made a name for himself both as a practitioner and a medical writer. He left many medical works, among which there was one on the medical topography of Alexandria.

There were quite a number of other Jewish physicians in Egypt at this period, but the want of space will not permit them to be mentioned here.

It is worthy of mention, however, that Maimonides left a son, Abraham, who was a physician of considerable distinction, since he became the physician of Melie Alcamel, the brother of Saladin, and furthermore he was a physician to the hospital at Cairo. Osaiba knew him well. He attended the hospital at the same time and speaks of him with high esteem. He died in Cairo in 1236. His son David, the grandson of Maimonides, practiced medicine at Cairo till 1300. He in turn left two sons, Abraham and Solomon, who also remained faithful to the profession so greatly honored by their illustrious ancestor.

There were many noted Jewish physicians in Spain during the 13th century, to whom we must now return, having followed Maimonides to Egypt.

Moses Ben Nachman, or Nachmanides, born at Gironne, 1196, was sent to France, where under the care of Jehuda, at the Montpelier school, he made great advancement in the study of medicine. Jehuda was one of the professors in the medical school at the time. After finishing his studies at Montpelier he returned to his native city and founded a Rabbinical School. He had acquired a rich knowledge of Talmud and was an avowed opponent of

the Cabala. Through the influence of Rabbi Asriel, of Gironde, however his aversion was converted into a devotion which won for him the title of prince of the Cabala. This must have exerted a deleterious influence upon him in the practice of the healing art, for, on the authority of one of his pupils. he employed pieces of lead, shaped like a lion, to cure diseases of the kidneys. He was acknowledged to be a most skillful accoucher. He ranked high as a doctor of the law, and was therefore selected to discuss publicly, 1263, with Paul Christiani at Barcelona, before King Jacques I., and Raymond of Penafort. The excitement following subjected him to persecutions which determined him to seek rest at Jerusalem. Here he died in 1267.

MESCHULLAM BEN IONA.

Meschullam Ben Iona was the physician to Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon, who ascended the throne in 1252. The King was a generous patron of the sciences and employed many Jewish scholars, including his physician, in scientific work and in the translation from foreign languages. Meschullam ben Iona translated from the Arabic into Hebrew a universal treatise on medicine by the celebrated Kalaf Ebn Abbas Aboul Kareem. This work bears the title of "Chefez na Shalom," and is preserved in MSS. in the National Library of Paris.

The number of more or less noted Jewish physicians during the 13th and 14th centuries is much too large to be separately mentioned here. They flourished in the various parts of Spain. Many of them were the physicians to the different rulers, the nobility and the high officials.

During the 13th and 14th centuries we also find Jews occupying high positions as physicians in Portugal. Solomon ben Maseh Shalom, on account of his great political influence, deserves special mention here.*

Don Moseh was physician to Ferdinand the first, and to his successor John I. (1385-1433). When Pope Boniface IX., 1389 issued a bull forbidding the persecution of the Jews, in which was included hindering them in the free exercise of their religion, the desecration of their graves, and the enforcement of special taxation upon them, Don Moseh prevailed upon the King to proclaim a similar edict in his country for the protection of the Jews.

THE MEDICAL SCHOOLS OF MONTPELIER.

The Medical School of Montpellier has already been incidentally referred to in connection with the prominent aid contributed by Jewish physicians in its early organization. During the 13th century central France counted many erudite and skillful Jewish physicians who had been reared in this school, to which many Rabbis were attached as teachers. The prominence which French Jewish physicians attained, engendered a severe hatred against them. The clergy revived the ancient proscriptive laws of the church. The council of Beziers, 1246, forbade Christians employing Jewish physicians. A similar edict issued from the council of Abby, 1254.

Jehuda, the preceptor of Nachmanides, and the pupil of Isaac ben Abraham, governed the Montpellier Medical School at this time in conjunction with the Regent Nicholas. Jacob Ha Katon was one of the professors. He had mastered the Hebrew, Arabic, Latin and provin-

* Geschichte der Judischen Aerzte, Dr. Richard Landau, p. 40.

cial languages and translated the pharmacopœia of Nicholas into Hebrew, a copy of which is found in the National Library of Paris. Another very distinguished scholar and physician of this school, who well deserves to be mentioned here, is Samuel Aben Tybbon. He has justly been called "Rosh ha Maatikim," prince of interpreters, being foremost among the translators of Arabic into Hebrew. He translated many of Maimonides' religious, philosophical and medical works into Hebrew. He did not, however, confine himself to translations, as did his father Jehuda Aben Tybbon. He was the author of many works which were held in high esteem, among which is one entitled "Jikavou ha Maim," in which he endeavored to explain why the waters of the sea did not encroach on the land.

In 1300 a Jew named Profatius held the position of Dean of the medical faculty of Montpellier, who, besides his medical learning, had acquired a high reputation as a mathematician and astronomer. He is quoted by Copernicus in an observation in 1303 of a deviation of the Sun from the Equator which he had calculated to be 23° and $32'$.

We have now reached a period in the history of this celebrated school when we must turn our attention to the persecutions to which the Jews of France had been subjected, and which now were nearing their sad culmination. The distinction which the school of Montpellier had achieved, largely through the influence of the Jewish scholars attached to it, and the sway that the Jews had obtained in the field of medicine, evoked a bitter hatred against them from the Paris faculty. The University of Paris, though a very old institution, being traced back to the reign of Charlemagne, in the 8th century, and

though it had attained an elevated standing in the other departments of knowledge, it was not known as a medical school of decided repute till the 16th century. During this period there were no very distinguished Jewish physicians in Paris. Two physicians, Copin and Moise, are mentioned as practicing towards the close of the 13th century. These had a female colleague named Sarah. In 1301 the faculty of Paris published a decree forbidding any Jew or Jewess to practice medicine among Catholics. This spirit of intolerance reached Provence. The Councils of Avignon, in 1326 and 1337, also the synodical statutes of Rouerque, 1336, interdicted Christians from employing Jewish physicians. In 1306 the Jews were banished from France. This decree fell hard upon the large Jewish congregation at Montpellier. All were doomed alike to exile. Many of those who occupied chairs in the University, who had so meritoriously contributed to its reputation, and to the intellectual glory of France, now became wanderers looking for new homes in other lands.

In 1360 Jews were permitted to return to the cities whence they had been expelled, and Montpellier again became a favored seat of learning for Jewish scholars. In the latter half of the 14th century we meet with the names of Solomon ben Abigdor and Messulum ben Abigdor who both practiced in Montpellier and were known as distinguished physicians and writers on Medicine. Dolan Bellan was a distinguished surgeon at Carcassonne. Jekuthiel ben Solomon, who practiced in Narbonne, translated the Practice of Medicine of Bernard Gordon into Hebrew. In Provence, Jewish physicians were sought by those in high stations. In 1369 a call reached Baruch Abin of Arles from the Queen Johanna. This physician

found such high favor with the Queen that he and his posterity were exempted from all taxation.

We find in Marseilles, during the 13th century, a physician, Schem-Tob ben Isaac, who gained great distinction as a practitioner of medicine, and who left many medical works to perpetuate his memory. He must have reached a high age, for he was born in Catalonia, in the town of Torlosa, in 1196, and one of his works bears the date of 1264. He began his studies when he had attained the age of 30 years, having been reared for commercial pursuits, into which he had entered with great earnestness. Having consulted a noted Rabbi on a matter governed by the Jewish law, he was made to feel so ashamed of his ignorance that he vowed that he would not enter into any business again until he had studied that law. He immediately became a pupil of Rabbi Isaac ben Meschullam of Barcelona. When he had finished his studies he came to France, stopped for a time at Montpellier, and finally settled at Marseilles. He wrote the following works:

1. *Sefer Ha Schimusch*, a medical treatise by the celebrated Al-Zaharabi, translated into Hebrew. From the many parts in which it is divided it appears to be a very extensive work. It is to be found in the National Library of Paris.
2. A Treatise on Medicine, by Almanzor, translated from Arabic into Hebrew, 1264, preserved in MSS. in the Library of the Vatican.
3. *Sefer Ha Nefesch*, a treatise on the Spirit of Aristotle; the MSS. found in the National Library of Paris.

There was in Marseilles another renowned physician and scholar, Jacob ben Abba Mair. He was a native of

that city, descended from a very distinguished family of scholars, but acquired his fame in Lunel and Narbonne, and finally in Berziers, where he practiced his profession. The reputation which he gained as a skilled physician attracted the attention of Emperor Frederick II. of Naples, who made him his physician, and bestowed great honors upon him. He received his principal medical training at Lunel, where he became the pupil of Samuel Abn Tybbon, who became greatly attached to him and gave him his daughter in marriage. He translated quite a number of works, embracing Ebn Roschid's commentaries on Aristotle; Ebn Roschid's original work on the Art of Speaking (*Sefer Cochmat Ha-Dibbur*) and an astronomical work of Ptolemy. There is no mention of any medical work written by him.

SCHOOL OF SALERNUM.

The School of Salerno, already referred to for the very significant aid contributed by Jewish scholars in the beginning of the more important period of its career, produced a number of distinguished physicians at this time, among whom Aboulhakim and Farraguth must be mentioned. Aboulhakim had made quite a reputation as a physician and added to his fame by an Arabic treatise on the Preservation of Health; the MSS. of which is in the Library of the Escorial. Farraguth, who besides being an eminent practitioner, ranks as one of the most important translators of the 13th century. He translated from the Arabic into Latin a medical work of Iahjah ben Djesla, which he dedicated to Charles of France, brother of St. Louis, King of Naples and Sicily. This translation was published as late as 1536. He was probably the first of the Jewish physicians who translated into Latin.

Hillel ben Samuel, also of the School of Salerno, was considered a great physician as well as a profound philosopher. He translated into Hebrew the Surgery of Brunus of Longoburgo. Brunus was a professor in Padua in Hillel's time and had completed an excellent treatise on Surgery, from Greek and Arabic sources.

Hillel also wrote "Sefer Tagmolé Ha Nefesch" a treatise on the mind; and also a commentary on part of Maimonides' "Moreh Nebuchim."

SCHOOL OF ROME.

Salerno, on account of its antiquity and the well merited reputation which it gained as a seat of learning, was the main source of medicine in Italy. We must, however, briefly turn our attention to Rome, where, during the latter third of the 13th century, many Jewish physicians had risen to high rank. Nathan Hamati, a native of Syria, chose Rome as his field of work. He composed an abridgement of the Canon of Ebn Sina. He also made many translations into Hebrew, of which the following is a list:

1. Mamar ha-Meschichot, a medical treatise of Zoharani.
2. Sefer ha-Perakim, with a commentary of Galen which he completed in 1283.
3. Perke Mosche, the aphorism of Maimonides.
4. The Canon of Abn Sina.
5. Sefer ha Refuot ha-Ain, a treatise by Aboulkassem on the diseases of the eye.

A Rabbi named Doctor Isaac was the physician of Pope Boniface VIII.

Serachia ben Isaach Chen. We here meet with a man

who was one of the brightest luminaries among the scholars of his time. He emigrated from Spain to Rome. He wielded great influence among his learned contemporaries. He taught the philosophy of the time, and was the author of many medical and philosophical works.

The following comprises a complete list of his productions:

1. Treatise on the Faculties of the Mind, by Abou-Nazar Al-Farabi translated from Arabic into Hebrew. MSS. in Nat. Library of Paris.
2. The Canon of Abou Abi Abn Sena, translated into Hebrew. In Royal Library of Paris.
3. Sefer Ha Tob ha Gamur; a treatise on the summum-bonum, or sovereign good, translated from the Arabic for the Rabbi Schabbai ben Solomon.
4. Explanations on some passages of the book Moreh Nebuchim, composed for the learned Jehudah ben Solomon. MSS. in Nat. Library, Paris.
5. Letters to the physician Hillel, of Lombardy, upon some difficulties in the same book of Moreh.
6. A philosophical commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon.
7. The metaphysics of Aristotle, translated into Hebrew at Rome, 1284.
8. The physics of Aristotle, translated into Hebrew, Rome 1284.
9. "Sefer Schamaïm vé ha Olam" of the Heavens and the Earth.

The three last works are in the Library of Turin.

10. Commentary on Ebn Roschid, on the Metaphysics of Aristotle, translated from the Arabic. A MSS. in same Library.
11. Commentary of Ebn Roschid on the Physics of Aristotle found in same collection.
12. A treatise on the Medicine of Maimonides.

THE DECADENCE OF JEWISH MEDICINE IN THE ORIENT
AND SPAIN.

We have taken into account the marvelous development of the sciences under the influence of the new power created by Islamism, and the conspicuous contributions of the Jewish physicians characterizing this epoch. We have followed the extension of this culture to Italy, to Spain and to France, and we have seen that the Jewish scholar and physician again has been an important factor in securing a firm foothold for science in these new territories. In retracing our steps to the Orient, we find that near the end of the 10th and at the very beginning of the 11th century, the light which had arisen here, and had so beneficially illuminated so much of the Western World, was now becoming extinguished. The political power of the Mahomedan Empire had reached its zenith, and its disintegration began. Tunis and Fez first established their independence. Egypt formed a separate state. Persia in the East, withdrew from the empire. The decline of the material greatness of this vast power was followed by the withering of the Arabic sciences. The conditions were too unfavorable for Jewish physicians and therefore they cast their lot in the more favored lands of the West; hence, we shall find but very few here at this period to engage our attention.

Nathaniel, a Jewish physician of the 12th century, performed an important role in his day. He was born in Basra, but came quite young to Bagdad. He procured his medical knowledge under great difficulties. The most celebrated of medical teachers of Bagdad excluded all Christians and Jews from their lectures. Nathaniel was, however, not to be thwarted in this way. He bribed the janitor and was permitted to occupy some concealed place in which he could hear the lectures.. On an occasion when a question was put by the teacher which no one in the class was able to answer, he emerged from his concealment and gave a satisfactory answer by quoting a passage from Galen. This gained him free admission to the future lectures. Nathaniel became very renowned as a physician, and received the title of Aouhad el Zaman, the only one of his day. Though he was richly rewarded for his skill, he deplored that there were some who did not fully respect him, because he was a Jew. He became a Mahomedan, but to his great chagrin the Mahomedans rendered no more honor to Stabat Allah, the name which he adopted with his conversion, than to Nathaniel, while the Jews treated him with contempt. It is said that he was completely forgotten during his life. He died aged 80 years, in 1164, deserted, poor, blind and deaf.

Abn-Mona ben Abn Nasr, surnamed Kouvin, who lived about the same time at Haran, wrote a work on the Preparation and Preservation of Simple and Compound Medicines.

Ebn Zakkeryya is greatly praised for his profound observations and for the extent of his knowledge. He was the physician of the son of Moureddin, who died in Aleppo in 1181.

In the 13th century a Jew became the physician to Argun, the Grand Khan of the Perso-Mongolian Kingdom. He was called Saad Eddaula, "A pillar of the State." He also became Prime Minister, and did such eminent service in restoring a healthy condition of the finances that he gained the esteem of his King. The rigid rule which he was forced to exercise towards the debased officials, brought upon him the hate of the Moslems. When finally the King became ill, in 1291, and he failed to cure him, his enraged enemies not only murdered him, but also many other Jews who had enjoyed a brief period of prosperity. The date of Argun's death marks the beginning of the terrible Mongolian war, and the time when learning in the East had reached almost its complete decay.

Spain, which had proven such a fruitful soil for Eastern culture, and where the Jewish physician had distinguished himself in the high civilization with which that land was favored, became infected with the poison of religious intolerance. Already in 1250 the blood accusation was hurled against the Jews in Castile, during the reign of Alphonso X.

The clergy was active in stirring up this hatred against the Jews, and especially against the Jewish physicians, being in the way of the monks, who about this time began to study medicine. The Jewish physicians on account of their learning and skill had attained almost complete sway in medicine. Persecutions against the Jews began to assume an increasing violent character. Toledo, Cordova and Barcelona became the scenes of serious outbreaks. This was especially the case in Toledo 1445, which was followed by the decree that even converted Jews should not hold office, annulled

however by a bull of Pope Nicholas. The synagogue in Toledo, the finest in Spain, had already, in 1411, been converted into a church. Many Jewish physicians at this period left Spain to settle elsewhere. We found Jehuda Aben Tybbon at Montpelier, who had come from Grenada; Joseph ben Isaac ben Kimchi at Narbonne, and a little later Schem Tob at Marseilles, who emigrated from Catalonia.

In the 14th century Simon ben Zemach Duran left Arragon and took up his residence in Algiers, where he found a wide scope for his activity. He was chosen to become Chief Rabbi, so that he could be permanently secured, and as a mark of the esteem in which he was held, he was called Simon the Great. It is regarded as certain that he was the first Rabbi who drew a stated salary. Simon Duran wrote many works, but only those relating to Theology and Philosophy have survived.

In the beginning of the 15th century, Solomon ben Abraham Ebn Dand who remained in Spain, wrote a complete work on Medicine embracing Anatomy, Physiology, Diseases, Symptomology, Prognosis, Diatetics, Therapeutics and Hygiene.

In following the history of Jewish physicians of the early part of the 15th century, we meet with a number more or less distinguished, who in part translated from the ancient Arabic authors, contributed commentaries, and wrote original works on medical subjects.

All of these held high rank among the Jews of Spain, both for their profound learning and the dignity of their character. In the face of the persecutions to which they were now being exposed they remained faithful to their profession and steadfast to their religion. There was

unfortunately a notable exception to this rule. Josia Lorki, coming from the learned circle of the Jews of Spain; a physician of high attainments, and a profound Jewish scholar, was made physician to Pope Benedict XIII. He adopted Christianity as Heironymus de Santa Fe and began a merciless crusade against his already unfortunate brethren. He induced the Pope to summon twenty of the most esteemed Rabbis of Spain to engage in a public discussion at Tortosa; furthermore, he prevailed upon him to interdict the Talmud, finally through his influence a Papal bull was issued against Jewish physicians and apothecaries. The deposition of Benedict by the Council of Constance prevented his vicious schemes being executed. What became of the renegade is unknown. By the Jews he was termed "Megadef," the calumniator.

Despite the intolerance fostered by the clergy against the Jews, there remained noble princes in the middle of the 15th century who fully appreciated the skill of the Jewish physicians and held them personally in high esteem, and there still remained a field for them for the practice of their profession. Henry IV., who became King of Castile in 1454, had a Jewish physician; and Don Juan II., of Arragon, had his sight restored by a cataract operation performed by Abibar, a Jew, in 1468.

After this period we find the names of Gallab of Catalonia; Isaac ben Schem Tob, who taught both medicine and philosophy in Castile; Samuel ben Chabib of Arragon, who probably practiced in Seville; Solomon ben Verga, who likewise practiced in Seville and who wrote a history of the Spanish Jews, which was translated into the Latin, Spanish, Portuguese and German lan-

guages; Vidal Caslari, of Catalonia, who translated Maimonides' Regimen of Health into Hebrew.

This brings the history of the Jewish physicians of Spain to a close. In 1481 the Inquisition was introduced with its sequent horrors, of forced baptism and the stake, eventuating in 1492 in the edict of expulsion of over 800,000 Jews.

JEWISH PHYSICIANS OF ITALY.

The School of Salernum has already attracted us to Italy. We have followed the Jewish physicians from their early connection with this school to their career in other parts of Italy, notably to Rome to the close of the 13th century. The expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip le bel, 1306, caused many to seek refuge with the mild and tolerant Charles II., King of Naples. Samuel ben Jacob of Capua became his physician, who translated the medical works of Jahya ben Maseriah from a Latin version published in Egypt. Robert of Anjou, the successor of Charles, had also a Jewish physician, whose name does not appear, but of whom it is stated that he was a physician of vast ability. The King had collected a great number of Hebrew books which he had translated into Latin by his physician.

Sicily did not offer much attraction to Jewish physicians. The parliament at Piacca on the 20th October, 1293, adopted a law which provided that in a case in which a christian permitted himself to be treated by a Jewish physician the patient should be imprisoned for three and the physician for twelve months, with only bread and water for their subsistence; while the physicians fee and an amount equivalent to the cost of the medicines should go to the poor. This legislation could

not always have been enforced, for either from the greater leniency of the rulers, or from a scarcity of skilled physicians, we find here at this time Aaron of Messina, Master David and Gaudius practising undisturbed. In 1459 these provisions were revoked, the Jewish physicians were accorded full freedom to practice medicine. The conditions in general in Italy however were unfavorable to the attainment of great prominence by Jewish physicians. During the latter half of the 14th century political quarrels grew fierce; the popes were compelled to have their seats in Avignon (France) from 1305 to 1376, hence we meet with but few great names among Jewish physicians at this period. There were, however, some who gained renown. Gentile de Folingo, who was elevated to a Professorship in Padua in 1340, where he died in 1348, a victim of the plague. *Manuela* became the physician to Pope Boniface IX., who in 1392 appointed Angelus Manuela, the son of Manuela, to that position at his father's death. In 1399 Boniface gives this flattering testimony in regard to his physicians: "That in the practice of their profession they were courteous and benevolent, and ever ready to help the poor and needy without exacting pay, and that they were equipped with a ripe experience."

In the beginning of the 15th century the Rabbis of Italy took great interest in medicine; a number entered actively in its practice; others busied themselves with copying manuscripts, thereby to promote the spread of medical knowledge. We are not permitted to consider the large number of names with which we meet at this time.

With the increase of Jewish physicians and the decided prominence they had attained, the envy and

hatred which they so often had experienced was again renewed. Bernard of Sienna, a fanatical monk, who lived from 1380 to 1444 was especially active in inciting this antipathy to Jews in general, and to Jewish physicians in particular. He went from city to city preaching against them. In his venomous tirade he used the vilest calumnies. Bernard of Feltre, his successor, endeavored to surpass him in his cruel vituperation. Better die from disease, said he, than owe your health to a Jew. The papal bull of Martin V., in 1422, warning the monks to desist preaching against the Jews, at the peril of excommunication, did not avail to repress this spirit of intolerance. The intelligent class continued to treat the Jews kindly and appreciated the skill of Jewish physicians. The monks, however, succeeded to arouse the passion of the ignorant populace, and instances are recorded in which in the face of impending death, the nearest relatives of the sick refused to submit the care of the patient to the care of the Jewish physicians. While Bernard of Sienna had the bull of Martin the V. against him, Bernard of Feltre was encouraged by the Popes of his time. Eugenius IV., Nicholas V. and Calixtus III. had issued a bull forbidding Christians to employ Jewish physicians. There were very few or no Christians who understood the healing art, and therefore they failed to have their full intended effect. The nobility and even the higher clergy valued their health too much to be influenced by these papal bulls. Paul II., while not more lenient to the Jews in general than his immediate predecessors, was more generous towards Jewish physicians. Ferdinand I., King of Naples, disregarded the edicts of the Church and selected as his physician Benjamin of Porte Leone. As a curious piece of irony it may be

stated that the city of Siena, named after Bernard of Siena, at this time appointed a Jew as its physician.

From the time of Paul II. there was a notable increase of prominent Jewish physicians. Abraham Conath, of Mantua, deserves special mention here, for besides being recognized as a physician of rare attainments, he has the credit of having, in 1476, a printing press with Hebrew type. The Hebrew printing which issued from Conath's establishment must be regarded as among the earliest; the first printing that was done antedated it only twenty years.

About the same time Elias ben Jehuda was a physician in Tivoli. He wrote a work on diseases of women in the form of a dialogue, the manuscript of which is preserved in the library of the Vatican.

Passing the names of a number of Jewish physicians who are mentioned as having held honorable rank, we must take brief notice of Eliah del Medigo, who held a chair in the University of Padua at the close of the 15th century. Subsequently he had a call from Florence, where he held a similar position. Here he enjoyed the friendship of the Prince Jean Pic de la Mirandole, for whom he, in 1485 and 1486, translated two works in Latin. He wrote many books, among which are mentioned a Commentary on Averroes in Hebrew and Latin, 1485, and one on "The Examination of the Creation of the World." He was a bitter opponent of the Cabala, which was then again being cultivated.

Vidal Balson, who came to Reggio from Sicily in 1492, wrote an excellent text-book on medicine (1505), covering the whole field of the science. The Paris library possesses the MSS. of this unpublished work.

Abraham del Balmas about the same time was a re-

nowned professor of medicine in Padua. He was the physician of Cardinal Gamarri. He translated works of Ptolemy, Averroes and others from Hebrew texts into Latin. When he died, in 1523, the university instituted a grand memorial meeting. We must again pass a number who deserve mention. Alexander VII., Julius II. and Clement VII. were three popes who in succession employed Jewish physicians and held them in high esteem; Samuel Zarfati served the two first named; Isaac Zarfati the last.

Obadiah Sforzo, a prominent physician and a profound Jewish scholar, died in Bologna in 1550. It is not known whether he wrote medical works. His Commentaries on the Pentateuch and on the Psalms were published as late as 1724. It is of interest to mention here that Reuchlin, who spent some time in Italy in 1498, became acquainted with this physician and received instruction from him in the holy language.

Abraham de Porte Leone, born 1542, coming from a long line of distinguished physicians, studied at Padua and settled at Mantua. In 1564, at the instance of the Duke William Gonzaga, of Mantua, he instituted examination as to the therapeutic value of gold and published his results. The use of gold, as a medicinal agent, up to this time was unknown to the Jewish physicians. He contributed to Jewish literature. His medical writings were in Latin. We will now turn our attention to three eminent men, who went to Italy from France and Spain.

Bonel de Lates was born in the small village of Lates, near Montpellier, and remained in Provence till 1498, when the Jews were expelled from there. Arriving at Rome he devoted himself to astronomy, and invented an instrument by which the distance of the sun and the

stars could be determined, as well as the hour by day and by night. He presented an article, written in Latin, on "The Theory and Practical Use of his Instrument" to Pope Alexander VI. He became the physician of Leo X., by whom he was held in high esteem, and upon whom it is believed he had great influence from a circumstance to which I shall now refer. Johann Pfefferkorn, of Cologne, a converted Jew, who made it his life's purpose to bring the foulest accusations against Jewish religious writings, endeavored to induce Emperor Maximilian to permit him to seize all such books, wherever they could be found and to destroy them. He met a noble antagonist in Reuchlin, who, from the knowledge which he had acquired in this respect, recognized the base motives of Pfefferkorn. He presented the matter in its true light to the emperor in a well written dissertation. This led to a bitter literary controversy, which lasted ten years, two parties having sprung up, the one siding with Reuchlin, the other with Pfefferkorn. The emperor ended the controversy, and appealed to the Pope for his decision. Reuchlin wrote to Lates to enlighten the Pope. The Pope instructed the Archbishop of Speyer to examine into the controversy, which resulted in the defeat of Pfefferkorn.

Jehuda Abarbanell was born in Lisbon, came as a child to Castile, where his father, Don Isaac Abarbanell, rose to the rank of Minister of the State. He had been in great favor with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, but the decree of expulsion came in 1492, to which even he had to submit. After wandering from place to place he finally settled in Genoa. Jehuda was educated as a physician. He was made the physician of Ferdinand I., King of Sicily, and also to his successor, Alphonsus II.

All contemporaries agree that he was a very skillful physician, a sympathetic poet and a profound philosopher. He left no medical works. He wrote "*Dialoghi di Amore*" in Italian, which has been translated into French, Spanish and Latin.

Jacob Montino came to Italy from Spain to escape the horrors of the Inquisition. He settled in Venice, where, under the guidance of his learned father, he was taught the science of medicine. He went to Rome, where he became the physician of Pope Paul III. He translated many medical and metaphysical works from Hebrew and Arabic into Latin. Such work was of immense benefit to the spread of medical knowledge, as it brought the learning of the East to the West, where Oriental languages were not understood.

We have seen how the practice of medicine was obstructed by the intolerance of a fanatical clergy and illiberal popes; and we have again watched its healthy development under the generous government of enlightened rulers. Another change ensued. In 1555 Paul IV. became Pope, and, though aged ninety years, manifested a terrible hatred against the Jews. Pius V. followed his cruel example. Gregory VIII. intensified the persecutions introduced by his predecessors. The Jews were degraded in every way possible. Jewish physicians were forbidden to treat Christian patients.

Pope Sixtus V. proved more tolerant, and revoked the decree that forbade Jewish physicians treating Christians. They again began to rise to prominence in the 17th century. Jacob ben Isaac Zahalon was born in Rome in 1630. He studied medicine, especially surgery, and also Rabbinical literature. He practiced successfully at Fer-

rara until his death in 1693. He wrote a very comprehensive work on medicine.

We shall close this part of our history with a brief reference to Ephraim and Isaac Luzzatto, born respectively in 1729 and 1730. They attended the university at the same time. Both received on the same day their degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1751. The younger, Isaac, settled in his birthplace, St. Daniel, and practiced his profession. In 1777 the Jews were expelled. He, however, was permitted to remain with his family, and he continued to practice till his death in 1803. Ephraim Luzzatto remained in Padua for a while; he traveled considerably, and finally settled in London in 1763. Here a most successful career was opened to him, and he remained thirty years. He yearned to join his brother again. His wish was not fulfilled. He died on the journey in Lausanne (1799).

JEWISH PHYSICIANS OF FRANCE.

We have traced the history of Jewish physicians in France to the close of the 14th century. In 1394 the second decree for the expulsion of the Jews was issued. Having had a rest of only thirty years, they were doomed to become wanderers, and a full century passed before Jewish physicians were again heard of, when a few of the Spanish exiles were permitted to remain in France.

At this time Pierre de Notre Dame had settled in Arles. He assumed this name after he adopted Christianity in his advanced age. His Jewish name is not known. He entered the service of the Duke of Calabria, and subsequently he was transferred to that of his father, King René I., by whom he was highly esteemed.

Jacob Proncal, a native of Marseilles, came to Naples

and wrote a treatise on the study of sciences, in which he gave prominence to medicine.

The hospitality of France was however of but short duration, and we find that Bonet de Lates, who later became so famed in Italy, becoming a victim of the persecution (1494) breaking out anew at Montpelier. Under the protection of papal influence, which then prevailed at Avignon, Jews were permitted to dwell there, among whom we find Jewish physicians, who must eventually have entirely disappeared in France. When Francis I. fell ill he was anxious to have a Jewish physician attend him. He appealed to his former antagonist, the German Emperor Charles I., who sent him a physician. The King, believing this physician to be a Christian, dismissed him at once, and procured a Jewish physician from Constantinople through the intervention of the Turkish Minister. It is stated that this physician ordered asses' milk. The King recovered, and since that time the use of asses' milk in the treatment of disease has been firmly retained in France.

Ely Montalto, of a Portuguese family which emigrated to Italy, studied medicine there. His fame reached Paris, and he was called to be the physician of Queen Maria. Before accepting this post of honor he stipulated for the free exercise of his religious convictions. Henry IV. agreed to the conditions, and went far beyond them in providing for his wants. When he died, in 1615, the King had his body embalmed and had it conveyed to Holland to be interred in a Jewish cemetery. He wrote two treatises on Medical subjects in Latin, and a philosopho-theological work in Portuguese.

Notwithstanding the high favor in which Montalto stood, Jewish physicians were not permitted to settle in

France. Orobio de Castro lectured on Medicine at the University of Toulona, about the middle of the 17th century. He went to France from Portugal, where his parents were compelled to submit to baptism. The family remained, however, steadfast to their Jewish faith and Orobio de Castro fell a victim to the Inquisition. The tortures to which he was subjected to extract from him the confession that he secretly was a Jew failed. He finally fled to France, where he continued to represent himself as a Christian. He enjoyed great respect in Toulouse, but he sacrificed position and honor to act consistently with his convictions. He emigrated to Amsterdam where he could throw off the mask which so long had oppressed him. He secured such a large practice there that he could find no time for literary work, with the exception of the discussion in which he entered, opposing Spinoza, 1684. Previous to this he had written much on philosophical and theological subjects in both the Spanish and Latin languages.

Jean Baptiste de Silva, a descendent of one of the most learned families of Portugal, was born at Bordeaux, 1686, studied medicine at Montpellier and won the degree of Doctor of Medicine before he was quite nineteen years old. He became the assistant to Helvetius. His reputation as a physician was wide spread. He was repeatedly summoned to the invalid Louis XV., 1721, and in 1724 was made his consulting physician. He was called to Munich to attend the German Emperor Charles VI. Empress Anna of Russia offered him the appointment of physician to her Majesty, which he declined. He wrote a treatise on venesection, and three volumes on dissertations and consultations of M. M. Chisar el Silva. He died 1742.

These physicians were followed by a few others, but an inquiry into their career would lead us further in history than this study will permit. After the Revolution in France the Jew was for the first time recognized as a citizen in Western Europe with full equality with other citizens.

The return of the Jews must have been very slow, for in 1830 there were only 27 Jewish physicians in the whole of France.

JEWISH PHYSICIANS OF GERMANY.

Although Jews are known to have been in Germany before the introduction of Christianity, we shall be compelled to make a considerable advance in history before we will meet with Jewish physicians. As an explanation of this, we must recognize that the Jews of Germany had been subjected to a more continuous humiliation and persecution than those of any other country. Elsewhere they had enjoyed long periods of peace, in which the development of science being favored by the rulers, placed a value either upon the knowledge which they brought, or on the adaptability which they were known to possess.

In Germany their oppression never wholly ceased. There is only one notable exception, already referred to, of a Jewish physician in Germany at an early period, viz: that of Zedikias, who was a physician to "Charles the Bald" in the 9th century. Horovitz* in his history of Jewish physicians of Frankfort on the Main, states that the butchery of the Jews in 1241, which ended the first successful era of the Frankfort Jewish community, has destroyed every trace in regard to Jewish physicians

* Dr. M. Horovitz, *Jüdische Ärzte in Frankfurt a. M.*, p. 4.

of that time. While Montpellier and Salernum attracted the Jewish youth and educated the men who became the eminent physicians with whom we have been made acquainted, the universities of Germany remained closed to the Jew. It must be further remembered that the cultivation of Medicine in Germany began at a late day. It was only when the works of the Greeks and the Arabs reached Germany in the Latin translations, which had been rendered in so large a measure by Jewish physicians, that the rise of medicine may be said to have had its beginning.

We have learned how much was done in regard to these translations by Farraguth and Jacob Montino. Regular lectures on anatomy had no place in the curriculum of either the University of Vienna till 1433, in that of Prague till 1460, and in that of Tuebingen till 1484. The practice of surgery was deemed below the dignity of the German physician during the 16th century. The first mention of a Jewish surgeon occurs in 1348. The first physician named is Jacob of Strasburg, who practiced in Frankfort from 1373 to 1396. There must have been many physicians at this time, for it is recorded that complaint was made at Regensburg that almost all Christians were treated by Jewish physicians. An oculist is mentioned, by the name of Abraham, who practiced his art at Schweidnitz, and who was held in high esteem.

In Basel a Jew, Master Jossel, was made the physician of the city in 1376. Towards the latter part of the 14th century similar appointments were made in Frankfort. Among these Solomon Pletsch, in 1394, is named. In 1407 Bishop John I. of Wurzburg appointed one Seligman of Mergentheim as his physician, relieving him, his wife, his children and his servants of all taxes.

Bishop John II. permitted a Jewess, Sarah, to practice medicine in his jurisdiction. She is said to have amassed a large fortune. Zerlin, 1494, another Jewess, was accorded the right to practice in Frankfort. She had a large practice, especially as an oculist. We hear of Jewish physicians having practiced medicine all through the 15th century in many places in Germany and others now in the Austrian domain; but there is naught mentioned as to their standing.

Emperor Frederick III. of the house of Hapsburg, had for his physician Jacob Loans, who stood in such esteem that the emperor bestowed upon him the knighthood. Loans was acquainted with Reuchlen, to whom he gave instruction in Hebrew, as afterwards did Obadiah Sforza in Italy. In 1505, Lorenz of Bitra, of the Bishopric of Würzburg, published a decree against Jewish physicians. A further attack upon them came from a pamphlet written by Victor von Carben, published in Cologne, 1509.

It must also be mentioned that during the whole of the 14th century, up to the period which we have reached, no physician could practice medicine in Vienna who did not in an oath declare his belief in the Immaculate Conception. This prohibition was removed by Emperor Maximilian in 1517. In 1561, Ephraim, a physician in Wertheim, petitioned the Prince Bishop of Würzburg for the privilege of continuing his practice, but it was not granted. This led to a great want of physicians in this region.

On the contrary, in Frankfort, there were many physicians at this time. Felix Platter, Professor in Basel, a very noted physician of his day, mentions in his autobiography that during his time there was only one Christian physician in Frankfort. The Jewish physicians

were, however, numerous, and they gained a great reputation, which extended over the adjacent country as far as Giessen. In the latter city there was not a single educated physician at the time. Among Jewish physicians of Frankfort we find Joseph ben Ephraim Levi, died 1532; Abraham ben Josef Levi, who died 1581; Jacob ben Samuel, who died 1585; Aron, died 1608. But a prejudice existed against them. Emperor Ferdinand, who was crowned 1558, chose Dr. Lazarus as the physician of his daughters in Innsbruck, and afterwards granted him the privilege to settle anywhere in Germany and practice his calling. In 1563 he applied to the city of Frankfort for permission to practice there; though recommended by the emperor, his request was refused on the ground that he was not a physician, but only a conjurer.

We hear of physicians during the 16th century at Mühlheim, Königsburg and Thun, but nothing especial appears in regard to them. The first mention of a Jewish physician in Berlin occurs in the 16th century. Elector Joachim II. had as his physician a Jew, named Lippold. He was greatly respected and was further appointed Minister of Finance. In 1571 the elector died suddenly. The enemies of the doctor charged him with the death. The elector John George, his successor, imprisoned Lippold, and after a trial had him quartered in 1573. His family and his co-religionists were ordered to be driven out of the country forever.

In the 16th century a number of Jews settled in Hamburg. Among them were physicians, the most prominent of whom was Roderigues de Castro. He was born 1546, in Lisbon, studied in Salamanca, where he obtained the degree of Doctor in both the philosophical and medi-

cal faculties. He settled, in 1598, at Hamburg, where he practiced till his death in 1627. He rose to great distinction as a physician, leaving many works on medical subjects.

His son Benedict continued in the practice established by his father and became the physician of Christian, King of Denmark. He died at an advanced age in 1684, having also been an author of a medical work.

His younger brother, Daniel de Castro, born in Hamburg, 1599, became the physician of Frederick III., King of Denmark.

Jacques Rosales, also a Portuguese, who reached Holland and then came to Hamburg, practiced in the latter city from 1637 to 1645. He died in Livorno in 1668. He acquired the title *comes palatinus*, that is, a count of the German Empire, which gave him the right to bestow academic degrees. Rosales, besides having established a great name for himself as a physician, was also an astronomer, and wrote poetry in Latin. In addition to those already named, religious persecution drove Benjamin Musaphia from Spain. Born in 1606, he settled as physician in Glückstadt, Holstein, and finally passed his last years in Amsterdam. He was a physician, linguist, Talmudist and poet. He published the following works: "A Theory on Ebb and Flood," "Aphorisms of the Scriptures," and a poem on the six days of creation.

There are not many physicians named at this time in other parts of Germany, and none rose to the distinction that was attained by those who came from Spain and Portugal. In 1614 the Jews were expelled from Frankfurt, and with them the Jewish physicians. In 1616 they were permitted to return. In 1631 the Jewish con-

gregation resolved to appoint a physician to treat the poor gratuitously. Josef del Medigo was chosen. He had passed some nine years in Amsterdam, and came to Frankfort when he was forty years old. He was reputed to be the most celebrated Jewish physician of the time. He remained ten years in Frankfort, then settled in Prague. He influenced greatly his son-in-law, Solomon Bing, son of the Dr. Abraham Bing, then practicing in Bingen. Solomon Bing had received his degree in Padua, and settled for the practice of medicine in Frankfort. There were a number of highly cultured physicians in Frankfort at the time. They were again beset by envy and hatred. Abraham ben Isaac Wallich, also a graduate of the University of Padua, who began to practice in Frankfort in 1657, wrote a popular work on medicine in Hebrew.

In 1700 the medical faculties of Wittenberg and Rostock proclaimed that a Christian could not place himself in the care of a Jewish physician. Johann Heinrich Mehl, in Worms, preached against them. In 1745 there appeared a book written by John Helfrich Pfeil, which was devoted to the purpose of showing that a Jew was unfit to receive the degree of doctor of medicine. William I. of Prussia, in the beginning of his reign, decreed that all Jews must wear a green hat, and spoke disparagingly of Jewish physicians. This seems, however, not to have deterred Jews from entering the profession. From this period, Jews were permitted to enter and take degrees in medicine in Duisberg, Halle and Giessen. During the 18th century there were highly cultured Jewish physicians in nearly every part of Germany. They are too numerous to be referred to separately.

Jacob Marx, a graduate of Halle, settled as physician

in Hanover, where he died 1789. He wrote a large number of medical works.

On returning to Berlin we find no mention of Jewish physicians since the sad story in regard to Lippold, who was quartered in 1573, till the middle of the 18th century. We then meet with Markus Elieser Bloch. He was born in Anspach in 1723. He went to Hamburg at the age of 19 with little more than a Hebrew education. He became the pupil of a surgeon who taught him his art, and the German language, while he was instructed in Latin by a Bohemian student. Subsequently, he went to Berlin where he enthusiastically engaged in the study of medicine and the natural sciences. He had the degree of medicine bestowed upon him by the University of Frankfort on the Oder, and he settled in Berlin to practice. He acquired means, by his practice and by marriage, and he began to devote himself entirely to scientific research. He was especially interested in Ichthyology. He established a private museum, in which he had a collection of aquatic animals which became a center of attraction to the scientific world. The result of many years of study and observation was embodied in a work on the Fishes of Germany, in nine volumes, the first appearing in 1785, the last in 1795. The work contained 324 plates. He published two editions in German and one in French by his private means. He died in Carlsbad, 1797. He also wrote a work on the waters of Pyrmont. In 1782 he won the prize of the Scientific Society of Copenhagen, for a work on intestinal worms and the treatment to be applied.

Solomon Gumpertz, born in Berlin, after finishing his studies visited France and England and acquired the languages of these countries. He became a very success-

ful physician and is highly spoken of in regard to his attainments by Moses Mendelsohn in a correspondence with Lessing, 1754.

Aaron Emmerich, in Berlin at the same time, is spoken of as a physician of great repute. He was well versed in the Greek, Latin, French and English languages. He was made the physician of the Berlin Jewish community in 1750, when the office was created. Leo Elias Herschel, also a distinguished Jewish physician of Berlin, although dying at the early age of thirty-one years, left many medical writings. He wrote, among other subjects, on "The Uses of Corrosive Sublimate."

Before leaving Berlin and the Jewish physicians of Germany, there is one man who must not be forgotten.

Marcus Herz was born in Berlin in 1747. His parents were poor and he was sent to Königsberg to be reared to business. He was attracted to Kant and attended his lectures on philosophy. He secured the friendship of Kant, and was selected by him as his opponent in his dispute in entering upon his professorship. Herz also studied medicine, and when he won his degree he returned to Berlin and began to practice. He enabled Mendelsohn to become acquainted with Kant. He delivered lectures on philosophy in his home, graced by his beautiful wife, to the élite of Berlin. One of his auditors was the Prince, afterwards King Frederick William III. He had a very large practice, was the physician of Moses Mendelsohn and of Prince Waldeck, and physician to the Jewish Hospital in Berlin. He died in 1803. He wrote a number of medical works, from the titles of which it would appear that he was a man of original research.

THE PSALMS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE
LITURGY.

Paper read before the Gratz College, Philadelphia,

BY

DR. K. KOHLER.

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BY DR. K. KOHLER.

Of all the inspired writings of the world the Book of Psalms surely is mankind's holiest treasury of inspiration. Like no other book of Holy Writ, it thrilled the ages with faith and hope. The Psalter of David has justly been called the harp of mankind. It has at all times yielded forth the sweetest music for the human heart and responded to its deepest emotions of joy and grief, of fear and hope, of woe and triumph. It has become the companion and comforter of Christian and Jew, the solace of sinner and saint, the friend of hut and palace. Its cheering strains reared temples and synagogues, cathedrals and chapels, led armies to victory and martyrs to glorious triumph, steeled a Luther and a Cromwell to fortitude, and sent angelic peace to millions of troubled souls. To the Psalms, our poetry, our modern music, nay, the Reformation itself, owe their highest achievements. The Jew-baiter, who but recently advised Christianity to cast off the Old Testament as being "a mill-stone around its neck," forgot, in his folly, that the Church's text-book of song is—the Psalter of David.

What is religion but worship? The Psalms gave it for all time its purest and loftiest form. They taught man how to offer God the pure incense of devotion. The prophet struck the keynote of religion in pointing to the God within, to the God of righteousness. The Law and the Prophets voice, in no uncertain accents, the faith

universal of man. No matter what ethnology may say to the contrary, the Book of Law points out the great truth that the first man was the first worshipper of God, and Israel's seers hold forth the hope of a universal worship of God in righteousness and truth at the end of human history. Still, nowhere does the universal character of Judaism find so full an expression as it does in the Psalms. There the soul communes with God, its Maker, pouring out all its cares and laying down all its burdens before His throne of mercy, to be winged with new hope and courage. As Luther says, "Here you can look deeply into the heart of all the saints as into a mirror, and through the storm of passion that sweeps over it, and through the clouds of doubt that hide the light of day, you behold God coming to cheer and to rescue them."

COMPARISON OF THE PSALMS WITH THE GATHAS AND
VEDAS AND BABYLONIAN HYMNS.

In order to illustrate the matchless beauty and grandeur of the Psalms, let us select such hymns as represent the highest stage of religious poetry among other nations and compare them with ours. Let us first take the sacred songs of the Aryan of old, of the Gathas of Zoroaster, and of the Vedas of the Hindoo priests. They all, without exception, portray or reflect the struggle not of the human soul, but of the God addressed. They present religion dramatized, not focused in man. They are not the cry for the living God, but a demand for some divine manifestation.

The hymn containing the declaration of the Zoroastrian faith, taken from the 30th Yashna, translated by

Mills, in Max Mueller's "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXXI., is as follows :

"Now I will proclaim, O ye who draw near and wish to be taught, the thoughts about the all-knowing one, the praises for the Lord Ahura and the sacrifices which come from the Good Mind and the benignant meditations inspired by Righteousness. May propitious results be seen in the light.

"Hear then with your ears ; see the bright flames with the Better Mind. Choose ye, each for himself, between the two teachings :

"The two primeval spirits as twins, independent in action, are Good and Evil—in thought, in word, in deed. Between these two the wise make the right choice ; not so the evil-doers.

"When the two spirits came together at first to make life and death, and to decree how the world shall be ordered, for the wicked wretchedness and for the holy blessedness,

"Then the Evil chose to do evil, and the Good Spirit, he who clothes himself with the firmament as his robe, chose righteousness, and also those who wish to do right in the eyes of Ahura Mazda.

"Between these the demons can make no righteous choice, for folly hath overcome them. When they held counsel together, they chose the Evil Mind. And they rushed together into the demon of Violence (Aeshma) to afflict the life of man.

"But when the vengeance cometh upon these wretches, the Kingdom shall have been gained for Thee, Ahura Mazda, by thy Good Will to those who help Truth to overcome Falsehood.

"May we be of those who lead this life to perfection. May we be like thee, Ahura, working in union with righteousness. Let our minds be where wisdom shall abide. Then shall destruction come upon the Spirit of Falsehood, but in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints shall gather who are walking in the path of honour."

Compare this Persian hymn with the 1st Psalm, which likewise dwells on the *Two Roads of Life* :

1. Happy the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,
Nor stands in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of
scorners.
2. But in the law of the Lord is his delight,
And on His law he meditates day and night.
3. He shall be like a tree planted by the streams of water,
That bringeth forth its fruit in its season, nor will its leaf
wither ;
And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.
4. Not so are the ungodly ;
They are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.
5. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
6. For the Lord taketh knowledge of the way of the righteous,
But the way of the ungodly perisheth.

How far superior in human pathos and in simple truth
is the Hebrew Psalm !

Or take the hymn expressing the longing and doubts
of the Persian seer (Yashna XLIV.):

"This I ask thee, O Ahura, tell me aright :
How shall praise be offered to thee, that through thy Good Mind
thou mayest draw near us ?
This I ask thee, O Ahura, tell me aright :
Who was the father of the righteous order ?
Who sustaineth the earth here below, and the space above, that
they do not fall ?
Who gave sun and stars their unfailing course ?
Who established the waxing and the waning of the moon save
Thee ?
This I ask thee, O Ahura, tell me aright :
Who made the waters and the plants ? Who to the wind hath
yoked the storm-clouds ?
Who is the inspirer of the good thoughts ?
This I ask thee, O Ahura, tell me aright :

Who as a skillful artisan hath made light and darkness?
 Who hath made sleep and walking? Who the dawn, the noon
 and the midnight as guides of duty?
 Who created piety? Who made the son revere his father?
 This I ask thee, O Ahura, tell me aright:
 Let me ponder on Thy revelations, whereby we may through
 Thine Order obtain this life's perfection. How may my
 soul with joy increase in goodness?
 This I ask thee, O Ahura, tell me aright:
 That holy faith—how shall it further thy order?
 How shall I banish the spirit of Evil from the friends of Right-
 eousness!"

Is this to be compared to the 8th Psalm?

"O Lord, our God, how excellent is Thy name over all the earth!
 Thou whose glory resoundeth in the heavens!
 Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast established
 a stronghold
 For Thine adversaries' sake to silence the enemy and the
 vengeful.
 When I behold Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
 The moon and the stars which Thou hast established:
 What is man that Thou art mindful of him?
 And the son of man that Thou rememberest him?
 Yet Thou hast made him little less than divine beings,
 And hast crowned him with honour and glory.
 Thou gavest him dominion over the works of Thine hands;
 Thou hast put all things beneath his feet:
 Flocks and herds of the fold
 And also beasts of the field,
 The birds of heaven and the fishes of the sea;
 Yea, he traverseth the paths of the seas.
 O Lord, our God, how excellent is Thy name over all the earth!"

Or to the 24th Psalm?

"The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof,

The world and they that dwell therein.
For He hath founded it upon the seas,
And established it upon the floods.
Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?
Or who shall stand in His holy place?
He that hath clean hands and a pure heart,
Who hath not lifted up his soul unto falsehood, nor sworn deceit-
fully.
He shall receive blessing from the Lord and righteousness from
the God of his salvation."

Here is no room left for doubt. God lives in every word and deed and thought of the singer.

A few specimens of Vedic hymns, selected as the best by Max Mueller, may here follow. They were composed in honor of Varuna, the all-seeing god of the sky :

"Varuna, the great Lord of these worlds seeth as if he were near. If a man thinks he is walking by stealth, the gods know it all.

"If a man stand, or walk, or hide, if he lie down or rise up, what two people sitting together whisper, King Varuna knoweth it; he is there as the third.

"This earth, too, belongs to Varuna, the King, and this wide sky with its ends far apart. The two seas (sky and ocean) are Varuna's loins; he is also contained in the small drop of water. He who would flee far beyond the sky, even he would not escape Varuna the King. His spies proceed from heaven towards this world; with thousand eyes they overlook this earth.

"King Varuna sees all this, what is between heaven and earth and what is beyond. He has counted the twinklings of the eyes of men. As a player throws the dice, he rules all things.

"May thy destroying snares, cast sevenfold and threefold, entangle him who tells a lie; may they spare the truthful, O King!"

There is undoubtedly a striking resemblance between

this hymn, taken from the Atharva Veda (Max Mueller, Chap. I., 41 f.), and the 139th Psalm, and yet how widely do they differ in spirit and tone! Let us repeat the latter :

1. O Lord, thou hast searched me and known me.
2. Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising.
Thou understandest my thoughts afar off.
3. Thou encompassest my path and my lying-down,
Thou art acquainted with all my ways.
4. For there is not a word on my tongue,
But lo, Thou, O Lord, knowest it altogether.
5. Thou hast beset me behind and before,
Thou hast laid thine hand upon me.
6. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me ;
It is too high ; I cannot grasp it.
7. Whither shall I go from thy spirit ?
Or whither shall I flee from thy presence ?
8. If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there ;
If I make my bed in the netherworld, behold, thou art there.
9. If I take the wings of the morning,
And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea,
10. Even there shall thy hand lead me,
And thy right hand shall hold me.
11. If I say, surely the darkness shall cover me,
Even the night shall be light about me.
12. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee,
But night shineth as day ; darkness and light are both alike
to thee.
13. For thou didst create my innermost parts ;
Thou didst weave me together in my mother's womb.
14. I will praise thee, for I am made very wonderfully ;
Marvellous are thy works, and that my soul knoweth right
well.

And the Psalm closes :

23. Search me, O God, and know my heart ;
Try me and know my thoughts.
24. And see if there is any wicked way in me,
And lead me in the way everlasting.

The Hindoo god Varuna is certainly endowed with moral attributes of a high order. He watches the doings of man below. Still he is substantially the watchman of the gods set up in the sky, with eyes piercing the darkness. The God of the Psalm is the Spirit dwelling within, penetrating the soul and the world's deepest thoughts as their Fashioner and Ruler. Man has outgrown Varuna ; he will never outgrow the God of the Psalms.

But there are other beautiful hymns addressed to Varuna which deserve mention :

“ Let us be blessed, Varuna, in thy service.
We remember thee and praise thee day by day,
Like the fires lit on the altar at the approach of dawn.
Take from me my sin like a fetter,
And we shall increase the spring of thy law, O Varuna !
Let not the thread be cut while I weave the song ;
Let not the form of the workman break before the time.
Take from me this fear, O Varuna, have mercy on me, O righteous King !
Like a rope from a calf, remove me from my sin ; for away from thee I am not master even of the twinkling of an eye.
Do not strike us with weapons which hurt the evil-doer.
Let us not go where the light hath vanished. Scatter our enemies that we may live !
We did, we do and shall in all future sing praises to thee, O Varuna, the mighty ; for on thee rest all laws immovably as on a rock.

Move far away from me all guilt, and may I not suffer for what others have done. Grant us to live many mornings that have not yet dawned.”—(Rig. Veda II., 28.)

Certainly this is a beautiful morning hymn. And there are many of these addressed to Varuna which, by their fervor, remind us of the Psalms. So Rig. Veda VII., 28 :

“ Let me not yet enter into the house of clay, O Varuna,
 Have mercy, almighty, have mercy !
 If I go trembling like a cloud driven by the wind,
 Have mercy, almighty, have mercy !
 Through want of strength have I gone wrong ;
 Have mercy, almighty, have mercy !
 Whenever we men commit an offence before the heavenly host,
 O Varuna ;
 Whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness,
 Have mercy, almighty, have mercy !”

Oldenberg, one of the greatest authorities on Hindoo lore, thinks that the deep ethical character which distinguishes Varuna and Mithra from the Pantheon of the Aryan religion is due to Semitic influence. It is, therefore, of special interest to glance, in this connection, at the Psalms of Penitence which the ancient Babylonians produced. They are remarkable, indeed, for the spirit of contrition and the profound consciousness of sin which they express. I shall quote only a few lines from Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, where Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen* are rendered into English (1887, pp. 349-355 and 521-531):

“ May the wrath of the gods be appeased !
 I am in trouble and hide myself. I dare not look up.
 To my god, the merciful, I utter my prayer !

I kiss the feet of my goddess and wash them with tears.
 O God, how long shall thy wrath abide?
 Destroy not thy servant, take my hand when I bathe in the sea.*
 Turn my sins into a blessing, let the wind carry off my trans-
 gressions.
 Strip off my manifold wickedness as a garment.
 O my God, seven times seven are my transgressions ; forgive my
 sins !
 O my goddess, seven times seven are my transgressions ; forgive
 my sins !
 Forgive my sins ; may thy curse be removed.†

In another psalm he prays to the god and the god-
 dess :

" May my sin be forgiven, may my transgression be cleansed !
 May the yoke be unbound, the chain be loosed !
 May the seven winds carry away my groaning !
 May the fish carry away my trouble, may the waters of the river
 cleanse me as they flow.
 Make me shine like a mask of gold, and appear bright as a vessel
 of glass.
 Cast off my evil, protect my life, bind together again my altar
 that I may set up thine image !
 Let me enter the palace of the gods, the temple of life !
 To Merodach the merciful, the Lord of happiness entrust me !
 Let me exalt thy greatness, let me magnify thy divinity !
 Let the men of my city honor thy mighty deeds !"

No one who reads this collection of Babylonian psalms
 can fail to notice that something of the religious passion
 that burns in the soul of the Hebrew is also ablaze in
 those old kinsmen of Abraham. The bright and beau-
 tiful gods that fill Olympus with glee and laughter do

* The malady-stricken prays like Naeman, the Syrian general :

" Let thy divine majesty cleanse the disease of thy servant in the river !"

† He had eaten food consecrated to the deity, which is *tabooed* (cursed).

not satisfy the longing of the Semite. The thought of guilt, the consciousness of wrong-doing, weighs heavily upon his mind; he must cleanse his heart by the fire of sacrifice and the water of ablution.

I shall not venture to discuss the question whether the priests of the Indus and Ganges borrowed these strains of penitential grief from those who lived on the shore of the Euphrates. It is sufficient for my purpose to point, by way of comparison, to the all-surpassing grandeur of the 51st Psalm of David, the great psalm of penitence for every remorse-stricken soul:

1. Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness;
According to the abundance of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.
2. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity,
And cleanse me from my sin.
3. For I acknowledge my transgressions,
And my sin is ever before me.
4. Against thee only have I sinned and done evil in thy sight;
so that thou art justified in what thou decidest, and clear in thy judgment.
5. Behold, in iniquity was I brought forth
And in sin did my mother conceive me.
6. Behold, thou desirest truth in my inward parts
And in things hidden thou disclovest to me wisdom.
7. Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean,
Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow.
8. Make me hear joy and gladness,
That the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.
9. Hide thy face from my sins,
And blot out all mine iniquities.
10. Create in me a clean heart, O God,
And renew a right spirit within me.

11. Cast me not away from thy presence,
And take not thy holy spirit from me.
12. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation
And uphold me with a willing spirit.
13. Then will I teach transgressors thy ways,
And sinners shall turn back unto thee.
14. Deliver me from deadly sin, O Lord, God of my salvation,
And my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.
15. O Lord, open thou my lips,
And my mouth shall tell thy praise.
16. For thou desirest not sacrifice, else I would give it,
Thou delightest not in burnt-offering.
17. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit ;
A broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

The situation of the Hebrew psalmist is undoubtedly the same as that of the Babylonian. He, too, suffered intense physical pain (note the words: "Thou hast broken my bones!"), and was thereby reminded of his sinful state. He recognizes God's just dealing with him and, like the Babylonian penitent, he undergoes the priestly rite of ablution. In fact, the spirit of uncleanness cannot, in the ancient conception, yield to the spirit of holiness without the power of living water (Ezek. xxxvii, 25; Zechar. xii, 10-13; Isa. iv, 2-6). But the Hebrew psalmist realizes the need of purification from within. To him the rite becomes but a symbol of the spiritual renewal. Man born with animal passion must be regenerated, born anew to holiness in order to become one with God. The consuming fire of sacrifice of the Semite is transformed into the loftiest yearning of the human soul. As the rabbis say with reference to our psalm of King David, the very sin of the Psalmist becomes a stimulus for thousands of sinners to turn to righteousness.

MUSIC AND SONG OF THE SEMITE.

In order to account for the depth and spirituality of the Psalms, some point to the deeper emotional nature, the more subjective or inward-bent character of the Semite as manifested in his speech, which is void of vowels, and in his poetry, which is lyric rather than epic or dramatic. There is similarity of form between Hebrew and every other Semitic song. Still, this explains as little the spirit of the psalms as the fierce fire of Moloch and the prophets of Baal explains the all-consuming fire of Jehovah which wipes out wrong and works for righteousness and holiness. The one is the chaff, the other the grain; the one the dross, the other the pure gold.

Before inquiring closer into the origin and spirit of the Psalms, I desire to present a question which, to my knowledge, has never been considered in its true bearing on our subject. Why did music and song not find a place in the mode of worship mapped out with such detail in the Pentateuchal law? The books of Moses speak of their invention and use in the most ancient times by pastoral tribes. The shepherds of Haran show familiarity with them. At the Hebrew exodus Moses and Miriam sound the praise of God their Deliverer with timbrel and song. And when they dance around the golden calf at the foot of Mount Sinai, the people have music. In fact, no victory, no national or family festival is celebrated in the time of the Judges and Kings without the cheering strains of vocal and instrumental music. Prophet as well as patriot derive their inspiration from it. The victor returning from the battle-field is greeted with its joyous sounds, and fields and vineyards in harvest time echo its voice all over the land. Nay more. God himself, in the liberty song of Moses, is

praised as נָאֲדָר בְּקִדְשׁ נֹרָא תְהִלּוֹת exalted in the sanctuary, awesome in hymns. How is it, then, that, with the exception of the trumpets and horns occasionally mentioned (Numbers x, 1-10), that powerful element of worship which alone lends solemnity and dignity, pathos and inspiration to the sacrificial form of worship, music is totally ignored? This cannot be due to mere chance or neglect. This must be intentional. What can be the reason?

A glance at the character of Semitic music and song tells the whole story. There is hardly a musical instrument, a popular strain, or a mythical inventor of music known to the Greeks but proves at close examination to be of Semitic origin and type. Yet it all bears the impassioned, effeminating and voluptuous character of worship of wild nature. It is the outgrowth of the sensual cult of Adonis and Astarte whose cries הָיִי דָדִי, הָיִי אָחִי ("Woe beloved! Woe brother! Woe master!") was heard in bewildering strains of alternating joy and grief as the song of Adonis, Bacchus, and Dionysius over the three continents. Especially in the land of Canaan did the wails and exultations over the separation and reunion of these gods and goddesses give rise to those abominations which stirred up the wrath of Israel's holy seers. In the shameful orgies in which, throughout the East, women, as worshippers of the queen of heaven, were the chief singers and actors, the flute and the harp, the pipe and the cithara and similar instruments played no small role.*

One must consider this to fully understand the righteous indignation with which the prophet exclaims in the

*The Book of Enoch ascribes the art of playing these instruments to the fallen angels under the leadership of Azazel and Shemhazai, who taught it to the daughters of men to seduce them to sin.

name of God : "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols." He detests the music and the chants of artists who, like David, invent for themselves instruments of music. He had seen the profanation of festal song by the assembling of fathers and sons to violate the virginity of women, and thus he prophesies that "the songs of the temples shall be turned into howlings" (Amos v, 23 ; vi, 5 ; ii, 7, and viii, 3). Joy over heaven's gifts had led Israel, after the manner of the heathen, to vice and shame. Therefore does the seer's voice grow so sad and his speech becomes an elegy. The Qinnah קִנְיָה the tune of lamentation, the cry of wailing and sighing נִינָה and נִינָה becomes the *Leitmotif* of prophecy.

There were traditions current concerning David's musical processions with the holy ark which seem to tell that they were not always chaste and decorous. (See 2 Samuel ii, 7.) Nor can there be any doubt that dancing female singers once played a conspicuous part in the sanctuary of ancient Israel. (Compare Psalm lxviii, 25—"the damsel's playing with timbrels"—with verse 11—"The women who bring glad tidings of a great war" and the procession of women in the sanctuary carrying mirrors (Exodus xxxviii, 8, and 1 Samuel ii, 22). Hence, the Hebrew lawgiver earnestly insisted on a chaste and serious mode of worship, and his preference for the sound of the horn and trumpet to the mellow and sensuous tunes of the flute and the cithara was but natural. Here, then, a new light is cast upon the history of the Psalms.

THE LEVITES.

The Midrash, in commenting upon the 137th Psalm, tells a strange legend : King Nebuchadnezzar, having

heard of the marvelous skill of the Levitical bards, said to those brought into captivity: "Sing for us one of the songs of Zion!" but they, unwilling to profane their sacred art, in their despair, put their fingers into their mouth and bit off the tips so as not to be able to play on the stringed instruments, crying forth in deep woe: "How should we sing the song of the Lord on the soil of the stranger?" There is a profound truth expressed in this weird tale. Suffering and woe consecrated the Levite song to the service of God. Not the proud priest nor the female singer of the ancient sanctuary, but the sorely-tried captives of the Exile, the Levite, chastened by privation and anguish, chanted forth the Psalms as the new song of regenerated Israel. Through penitence and grief did the lyric song of the Semite attain its spiritual beauty and depth. It was first pointed out by Graetz that, owing to their impoverished and helpless condition—as dispossessed priests—the Levites formed a poor and humble class, a congregation of saints, the pious *Chasidim* and *Anavim*, whose whole possession was their song. "I have none but God in heaven, yet I desire none besides Thee on earth" (Psalm lxxiii, 15) was their cry. Away from temple and sacrificial pomp, they yearned all the more "for the living God," and their souls soared on wings of devotion to the ethereal heights of mystic communion with Him. Their hope for immortality agrees neither with Persian nor with Egyptian views of the hereafter. They are one with the Rock of eternity, and thus death and the gates of the nether-world have lost their terrors for them. God is their refuge and help against the haughty princes and priests who oppressed them and heaped injury and contumely on them. These persecutions began already in

pre-exilic times under King Manasseh and Amon, but the tragic fate of Judea lent a deeper pathos to their plaintive song. The Levitical Chasidim led the captive Jews in prayer and true devotion. The prophetic speech was bitter and biting; the Psalmist's strains offered comfort and cheer. They assured them that God was nigh to Jeshurun if he be *y'shar leb* ("upright in heart,"—Psalm lxxiii, 1). The house of sacrifice had fallen into ruin; the house of prayer, the Synagogue, rose under the melodious tunes of the Psalter.

DAVID'S AUTHORSHIP.

In approaching the question whether David was the author of the Psalms or not, I wish first to state that I consider it a grave mistake on the part of recent Bible critics like Smend, Stade and Cheyne to ascribe all the psalms to late post-exilic writers, and reduce the kings and foes, the strifes and ills so bitterly complained of by the sacred singer, to mere shadows without substantial facts. They boldly assume that we have no psalm of the time previous to the Babylonian exile, and then assert, very often against the plain sense of the verse, that in speaking of his fears and anxieties, his enemies and persecutors, or of his hopes and his victories, either in the singular or in the plural, as I or *we*, the Psalmist always represents typically the congregation or the nation with its troubles and its Messianic expectations. It seems to me that there is something radically wrong in this interpretation of the Psalms which deprives them of their natural vigor and originality. Tradition is right in finding a powerful individuality portrayed in those fervent appeals to God for help and those unique expressions of confident reliance upon the Rock of salvation.

These words must have been coined by men who, like David, led the life of a fugitive in the desert and underwent great personal hardships. If not David, then some other ruler of his blood or stamp, some great personality, must have fought with bitter foes within and without, with woe and misery, or with sin and scathing remorse until his struggle and his triumph found words so striking and impressive as to make us all participants in the noble strife. Such figures as Jeremiah, or "the man of sorrow" of the 53d chapter of Isaiah, or Job, are brought vividly before us when we hear their very ordeals, their complaints and their inner victories voiced in the Psalms. It is simply impossible that the 46th Psalm—Luther's "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott!"—

"God is our refuge and strength, . . .
We will not fear though the earth be removed,
Though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea,"—

or that the 18th Psalm, which many modern critics ascribe indeed to David, should have been written by one not kindled with the spirit of heroism in the midst of a mighty battle with surrounding hosts. And thus do all the *King*-psalms point to a real king, and not to a mere fiction. It was, therefore, the most natural inference which offered itself to the collectors of the Psalms, to find in the checkered life of David the real background of all the sighs of anguish and the songs of victory presented therein. The fact is that we have a large number of psalms in which the singer personifies the nation, or the congregation, as was done already in the Song on the Red Sea: "I sing to the Lord;" in the so-called prayer of Hannah: "My heart rejoiceth in the Lord" (I Samuel ii, 1), and in Isaiah (xii, 1): "O Lord I will praise thee."

Others we have in large numbers, especially in the older collection, in which one cannot fail to feel the heart-pulse of the heroic warrior or martyr who describes his own experience.

Sight has been lost of one important feature. We must carefully distinguish between the original composition of the psalms and their remodeling for public service. The 18th Psalm is the best illustration of their two-fold character. The description of the battle, of the peril, and the appearance of God as the heavenly Warrior to aid the hero, proves it to be of ancient origin and supports the assumption that it is of Davidic authorship. On the other hand, there are passages interwoven which are altogether too gentle for the man of blood, and must be ascribed to those saintly singers, after Isaiah's time, who made "humbleness" their divine ideal and aim. In this manner many of the psalms, even such as Psalm CXXXIV., passing under the name of David, underwent alteration or modification when adapted to the new surroundings (to the Maccabean warrior age) and then admitted into the collection.

It may therefore be stated as a general rule that, whether written before or after the Exile, the older psalms were individual outpourings before they became temple hymns. A glance over modern as well as ancient poetry confirms, in fact, the principle that all great hymns were living truths before they were sung. All great poems were personal experiences before they became works of art. Genius, being in touch with the eternal truth, always reflects a world's life in its own.

The rabbis say (Pesachim 117): David composed some of the psalms with reference to his own person (כנגד עצמו אמרן) and others he wrote on behalf of the

Congregation of Israel (כִּנּוֹר צִבּוֹר אִמְרִין). Some he merely reproduced, while Adam, Abraham and Ethan, etc., were the real composers; or he anticipated Solomon and Ezra as the writers. The Greek and Syrian versions have in the headings also the names of Jeremiah, Haggai and Zechariah.

A large number were undoubtedly composed for immediate use in the temple or in the Synagogue of the Chasidim as supplications in times of war and peril, and as thanksgiving songs when victory had been achieved. Especially do the Asaph and Korahite psalms bear this character; also the Hallel psalms in the last book. Some, however, were written for public admonition and instruction on festal and fast days, whereas most of the Alphabetic psalms seem to be intended more for private meditations.

A great many psalms have a closing verse, or two, added for congregational response, which forms no part of the original composition.

COLLECTION OF THE PSALMS.

The 150 Psalms in our present Masoretic text (for which the Rabbinical tradition assigns only 147) are divided into five books, corresponding with the five books of Moses. A doxology at the end of each book shows that the division must be an old one, although there is obviously no reason for this division. But there are sufficient proofs that the first 89 psalms formed an older collection, or set of collections, than the latter two books: 90th-150th. With the exception of the first two psalms, the whole first book has the name of David attached to each. The next two books contain the psalms ascribed to the singer guilds: to the sons of Korah, 42d to 49th,

84th and 85th, 87th and 88th, and to Asaph, the 50th, and 73d to 83d, and the 89th to Ethan, while the 51st to 71st bear again the name of David. The 72d is ascribed to Solomon. At the close the words occur: "Here end the prayers of David the son of Jesse." We certainly have here three different collections. The first book belongs, in all probability, to the time of Zerubabel and Ezra, when the need of a temple hymnal was first felt. The other collection of Davidic psalms and that of Asaph and Korahite psalms belong to the Persian age, or to the time when the Book of Chronicles was written, as is shown by the *headings*, the *musical terms* of which became unintelligible to the later generation of scribes.

None of the psalms in the last two books have musical headings, and only exceptionally the name of David is attached to them, and they are for the most part temple hymns of a cheerful strain, some in their present form pointing directly to the Maccabean victory. Still, while the collection was made in the Maccabean age, I am far from believing that such psalms as the Prayer of Moses (the 90th), or the Psalms of Ascent (שִׁיר הַמַּעֲלֹת), and Psalm 144th are products of so late a time. I am rather inclined to believe that most of these psalms were recomposed to suit the new conditions, but, in fact, were composed in more ancient times. I find that the melodies of *Hodu*—"Thank the Lord, for He is good, for His mercy endureth forever!"—of Hosannah and of Hallelu were known before the Exile. (See Jeremiah xxxiii, 11; xx, 13; xxxi, 2; Ezra iii, 11.) Isaiah was familiar with the air: "Open the gates that the righteous may enter!" (Isa. xxvi, 2). Nehemiah heard the Levite song of the Hallel: אֲנֵה יְיָ הַצְלִיחָה נָא (Nehemiah i, 11). Nay,

AMEN! (אמן), the KADOSH (קדוש) and the *Baruch* (ברוך) the *Kumah* (קומה יי) and *Shuba Adonai* (שבה יי) and the like, may easily be traced back to pre-exilic time, if not to the oldest days of the nation.

And still older than the words are probably the tunes. It has been observed that the old field processions with the song: אל תשחת "Destroy not!" (Isaiah lxv, 8) probably furnished the music for the psalms bearing that heading. And so did the strains: אל תרחק ("Be not far, O Lord!") or חושה לעזרתי ("Haste to my aid!") live on in the memory of people long enough to furnish familiar old tunes to new texts for the sacred singers. These tunes are indicated in some of the headings of the psalms.

And this is a point overlooked in Jewish music. The words die, but the airs live and often produce new songs. In the *Kol Nidre* melody there lives, for aught we know, the music of centuries. Such was the case with the temple music. The festal joy and the plaintive cry were phonographed in the Psalm melodies and transplanted to synagogue and church.

An old Talmudical tradition (Sota 47b, Tosefta Sota) has the interesting record that under the victorious King John Hyrcanus the shrill and piercing sounds of alarm raised by musical instruments at the singing of the Psalm verse: עורה יי למה תישן ("Awaken, O Lord, why art thou asleep?") (Ps. xxxiv, 24) were abrogated. Certainly not on account of the anthropomorphic expression about God which gave offence, but because the victorious age called for livelier and more cheerful strains. Still, the old plaintive note continued in the penitential songs and the fast day hymns. In times of famine and war, the Shophar blasts calling for repentance re-echoed the

elegiac melodies, and in all likelihood we still hear them in our *Qinnoth* and *Slichoth* tunes.

On the other hand, I doubt not that the same cheerful strains of festal joy were preserved for centuries in the Hallel psalms. There is a striking family likeness between the Passover vigils of the Therapeutae, the Egyptian or Hellenized Essenes, and the Passover Hagada with its Hallel in the Jewish home, and still more between the Therapeutic song of Moses and Miriam and the responses: *מי כמוכה* and *יְיָ יִמְלֹךְ* in the *Ge'ullah* of our morning prayer (originally Essene—Notice the *בשירה ושמחה רבה*). And likewise the Hosannah cries in our *Sukkoth* and *Hosannah Rabbah* service may be easily traced through synagogue and church, back to the temple and the Water procession song during the festal nights. Talmud and Midrash (cf. Pesachim 113b, Midrash Tehillim, Psalm 116th, and Mechiltha Beshallach) preserved the tradition of choral and congregational singing and responsive recitation of certain Psalm verses under the leadership of Moses and Miriam with reference to the song on the Red Sea, or of the three friends of Daniel with reference to Hallel.

Our knowledge regarding the Temple music is certainly very scanty. But it is not assuming too much to say that it was better developed than we are inclined to think. Recent discoveries of Greek notes used in the Apollonic hymns at Delphi betray a high art of musical composition. Of the Therapeutæ in Egypt we are told that they had their male and female voices, their alto and soprano in their choir. It is, therefore, very likely that the psalm heading *על השמינית* and *על עלמות* referred to the major and minor key and the octave, as is stated in the instructive article on "Music" in Riehm's

Bibl. Handlexicon and Dr. J. Weiss's *Die Musicalischen Instrumente des alten Testaments*, Gratz, 1895.

THE PSALMS AS PRAYERS

was the subject I was mainly to speak on. Did I digress from it too far? I think not. Song is older than prayer. It intones worship. It creates devotion. The multitude sing, the individual prays. Prayer wells up from the depth of the soul, and only single individuals find words for tears and cries. The first (or second) collection of Psalms of David bore the name of תפלות דוד בן ישי ("prayers, not songs"). A few psalms still bear the name of תפלה ("prayer"). It has been said that Jeremiah, the most tender-hearted of the prophets, first taught people how to pray. Surely before the Exile we hear little of individual prayer. Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah and the men in the Book of Chronicles give us examples of devotional worship in stirring, responsive strains, the choir singing psalms, the congregation responding with "Amen!" The leader starts with ברכו ("Bless ye the Lord!") and the response follows: בריך "Blessed is He!")

While the Hallel and similar psalms were written for use in the Temple, there are others which seem to have been written for congregational worship in the Synagogue. There is no reference to Temple sacrifice in the 107th Psalm or in many that precede or follow it, where an allusion to the same might be expected. I do not agree with Graetz that the 134th Psalm—"Bless the Lord all ye worshippers of God who stand (in prayer) העומדים in the house of the Lord all night"—refers to the Sukkoth night procession described in the Mishnah (Sukkah v, 2). The occasion was an outburst of joy,

even for the *Chasidim*, not of serious prayer, as the word העומדים suggests. Graetz and others who, while relying on a few Talmudical traditions concerning the use of the Psalms in the Temple, incline to ascribe a large number of these to a late Maccabean age, overlooking the important fact that many of these very psalms are opposed to sacrificial worship. Such are not only the 51st, which has its sharp anti-sacrificial edge smoothed over by two additional verses of a pro-sacrificial character, the 40th and 50th, which belong to the old pre-exilic age, but also to the 141st Psalm, in which we read תכון תפילתי קמרת לפניך ("Let my prayer appear before thee as incense, and the lifting up of mine hands as the evening sacrifice!") Many of the *Chasidim* of the Psalms met under the roof of the Temple not for sacrificial worship but for prayer, and to such devotional night gatherings of the "station men" the אנשי מעמד or the *Chasidim* in general, does the 134th Psalm refer. Not only the New Testament (Luke ii), but also the Midrash (Echa Rabbā to iii, נדר בערי) speaks of pious women joining such prayer meetings in the Temple precincts.

It was only in later times that a compromise was effected between the *Chasidim* who sang and prayed and who composed and recited psalms and prayers and the priests who offered the sacrifice by means of the מעמדות—the institution of a representative body of laymen fasting and praying, while attending in body or in spirit the regular daily sacrifice. Originally they stood at opposite ends, the one body for the letter of the law, the other for the holy spirit of God, which moved them freely as it did the prophets of old. It is a late and unwarranted assumption that the prayers were instituted simply as a substitute for the morning and evening sacri-

תפלה במקום קרבן. Daniel, the model Essene, or Chasid, and the Psalmist (Psalm lv, 18), as well as the usage of the Synagogue to this very day point to a worship three times a day, such as the Parsee and Hindoo saints have: at daybreak, at noon or afternoon, and at sunset. It is not merely accidental that the first two psalms in the oldest collection, the 3d and 4th, are morning and evening psalms.

It is also quite important in this connection to notice that on fast days, in times of great trouble for the people in Judæa, the saints, the *Chasidim*, interceded with their powerful spell of prayer, and not the priests with their sacrifice. And the prayers introduced and instituted on this occasion are the same which the Synagogue reserved for its penitential and New Year's days. I refer to the *מלכיות וברונות ושופרות*, to the *אבינו מלכנו*, the Kyrie Elyson (*רחמנא רחם עלן*), and *מי שענה*, also preserved in the oldest Church ritual and the Falasha liturgy.

Altogether the Psalms formed the necessary supplement of the Law with its ancient sacrificial system. They strike the deeper chords of devotion, and respond to the more spiritual needs of man. They created both the Synagogue and the Church.

PLACE OF THE PSALMS IN THE LITURGY.

It is scarcely probable that the whole collection of Psalms was used for Temple songs; certainly not in later times. Some were not adapted for Temple songs; others were only made so by an additional congregational response at the end. But they may have originally served as hymns in the synagogue of the Chasidim. It does not necessarily follow that the headings, partly in the Masoretic text, and more fully preserved in the Septuagint,

designating Psalms for the Sabbath, for the six week days, for the Dedication of the House, and similar ones, refer originally to the Temple. The Mishnah (Tamid VII.) and the Talmud (Rosh Hashanah, 31a; see also R. Chananel in *Bikkure Ha'ittim*, Vol. XII., p. 51) lead us to surmise that the אנשי מעמד the "Station Men," representing the people at the daily sacrifice, selected the week-day psalms with a view to the six days' creation and their own religious functions on these days.

The question of greatest importance is, Where did our liturgy originate? Those who, since Zunz, attempted to trace it exclusively to Temple practice, have failed to offer a satisfactory explanation of its origin. (See my article in Frankel's *Monatschrift*, 1893, 441ff, 489ff.) The morning and evening prayer at the rising and setting of the light of day, followed by one for the light of the Law surely is, as Rappaport first suggested, an ancient Chasidim, or Essene, practice, prompted by the light worship of the Parsee, with the view of turning the soul from the splendor of the created light to the Creator. To greet the ruler of day as herald of God's glory with solemn praise, the Essenes or Vathikim (the Virtuous Ones) stood in devotion watching for the breaking forth of its first rays (הנץ החמה Brachoth, 9b), whereas in the evening they prayed at the exact time of sunset (בדמדומי החמה Brachoth, 29b).

How, then, did they prepare themselves for the solemn moment?

They recited psalms פסוקי דזמרה in responsive strains. Yoseh ben Chalafta, a follower of the old Essenes, expressed a wish no longer understood in the Talmud (Sabbath, 118b): יהא חלקי מנומרי הלל בכל יום ("May my lot be of those who finish the Hallel every day!")

The Talmud refers this to the last five psalms which are recited daily in the Synagogue before the benediction over the light (יוצר אור). As if Rabbi Yoseh could not easily have followed this practice for himself! But he certainly knew of the one which only the elect carried out. There are Christian monks who have preserved the custom of these saints of old of reciting the Psalms every night. That some Essenes did so, may be learned from the fact that King David is represented in the Talmudical tradition as having chanted the praise of God from midnight till dawn. (See *Brachoth*, 3b.) Perhaps in using the term Hallel for the Psalm-book R. Yoseh (see Blau. *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige-Schrift*, p. 36) had simply the fifth book in mind, which contains the Hallel psalms chiefly, and probably gave the Psalter the name of *Tehillim*. Our selections of Psalms, made according to I. Chronicles xvi, 8-36 (יהי כבוד) and certain psalms chosen for week, Sabbath and festal days (see Landshut's Notes in Edelman's "Hegion Leb," and J. Mueller's *Massechet Soferim XIV.*) are only a substitute for the reading of the whole Book of Psalms.

The best proof of the correctness of my view is that the founders of our liturgy have the reading of the Psalms in the morning prayer *introduced* by a *benediction*: ברוך שאמר ב.א.י.א.מ.ה. המהולל בלשון חסידיו (*Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who is exalted by the tongue of His CHASIDIM and His servants [Therapeutæ], and by the songs of David, Thy servant* . . .), this being the benediction which *precedes* the reading of Hallel or Thillim (ברכה שלפניה), and *closed* with a *benediction*: ב.א.י. ישתבח ברכה שלאחריה: (*Blessed be the Lord, great in praises, who has found pleasure in the songs of the Psal-*

ter!" . . .) This latter, together with the sublime and ancient dithyrambic prayer, *Nish'math*, is called in the Mishnah (Pesachim, 117b f) "Benediction over the Psalm-book (ברכת השיר). Regarding its age, see Landshut, Beer and others. That the *Yishthabach* benediction corresponds exactly with the Yehallelucha benediction at the close of Hallel (in which the *Chasidim* are also specified as reciting the "tenfold" form of Hallel) needs no special argument. The fact is certain that, exactly as the founders of our liturgy have a special form of benediction prescribed for the reading from the Law, and another for the reading from the prophets, both *preceding* and *following* the same, so they did for the reading of the Psalms. This throws some light on the benediction preceding the reading of the five Megilloth.

But the doxology, which is recited in the morning after the selection from the Psalms, has also found a place at the close of the evening prayer. The ברוך יי לעולם at the close of the evening prayer. The ברוך יי לעולם points to a similar recitation of Psalms in the evening, for which only a substitute seems to have been retained in our liturgy. Whether the five books of the Psalter were distributed by the Essene saints over three portions of the day and two of the night is uncertain. However, David's Psalter was to awaken the day for them from its slumber, and also to lead it to its close.

At noon there was at least one psalm to be recited, the 145th, for the threefold recitation of which on each day eternal bliss in the heavenly world of song is promised (B'rachoth 4b) כל האומר תהלה לדוד ב' פעמים בכל יום מובטח לו שהוא בן עולם הבא. Why just this one was selected, does not seem difficult to surmise. The verses, "The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them

their food in due season. Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living being," contains the grace for each of the three meals, thus consecrating the bodily food to the service of God.

And so had each season, each Sabbath and festival its special psalm in the temple, in the synagogue, and at the table. The treatise "Massechet Soferim" contains especially interesting records in this direction, and particular attention may be called to the New Moon banquet of the *Chaberim* or Essene brotherhood. The Psalms, in these fragmentary records of the ancient Palestinian liturgy, play a most prominent part, and the congregational response, "*Hodu*," to every sentence of the prayer corresponds strikingly with the Song of the Three Youths in the Apocryphical part of Daniel, also retained in the Church Liturgy and among the old *Falashah* prayers.

דברי קדושה קודמין לדברי קבלה ("Psalms lead and the prophets follow") is the rather surprising rule given in Treatise Soferim XVIII., 3. And it is, indeed, adhered to in the ancient New Year's Day Prayer of the Essenes (*Vathikim*), the *Malchioth*, *Sichronoth* and *Shof'roth*, where the quotations of the Psalms, introduced with *ובדברי קדוש כתוב לאמר* (as "words of the Holy Spirit") precede the prophetic verses. The reason can only be found in the fact that the *Psalms formed the chief medium of praise* at the very outset.

Isidor Loew, in an essay on the "Eighteen Benedictions," has endeavored to prove the connection of these prayers with the Psalms. (See his "Literature des Pauvres," Paris, 1892, p. 158f.) I think there is sufficient support for the general statement that each benediction *ברוך אתה ה'* is the response to some original

verse of the Psalms (cf. Jer. Brachoth I., 3d חותמי הברכות יוצר מעין הברכות). Thus, for instance, the benediction לעושה אורים אור closed originally with the Psalm verse נדולים כי לעולם חסדו נאולה (Psalm cxxxvi, 7). The benediction in the morning and evening, where the כנאומך points to some verse now omitted, had originally the last verse of Psalm xix (יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי) immediately after. ה"י מלך לעולם ועד. (לפניך ה"י צורי וגואלי) (See Baer, Gebethuch 86 and 167). As to the קדושה, Joel Mueller (Mas. Soferim, p. 228) has shown that the verse from Isaiah v, 16 (וינבה ה"י צבאות במשפט והאל) (הקדוש נקדש בצדקה) was the general form which prompted the response בא"י האל הקדוש.

Some of the eighteen benedictions have been preserved in a more original form in the ancient Church Liturgy (Apostolic Constitution VII., 33f.f.), and there the response "Blessed be Thou, Shield of Abraham" (מנן) (אברהם) is preceded by the words God said to Abraham: "Be a blessing." Also the benediction מחיה המתים emphasizes the resurrection stronger while alluding to the oath which God swore to Adam, to which the Church fathers referred the verse from Psalm iii, 6, "I laid myself down and slept; I awoke and God raiseth me," and which throws some light on the obscure ומקיים אמונתו לישני עפר ("He keepeth his faith with those who sleep in the dust"). (See Greenwald, "Der Einfluss der Psalmen auf die Katholische Liturgie, p. 37.)

The head or apostle of the assembly, the שליח צבור, always closed his free outpouring of the spirit with a verse of the Psalm, and the assembly responded with ברוך. Thus the early morning prayers ברוך אתה ה"י מתיר אסורים and מלביש ערומים were originally responses to verses from the 147th Psalm (ה"י פוקח עורים, ה"י מתיר אסורים).

The rather odd benediction after the washing of hands (על נמילת ידיים), which the Talmud is at a loss to explain, originated in the recitation of the verse of Psalm cxxxiv, 2 (שאו ידיכם קדש וברכו את ה'), which is translated in the Targum: נמלו ידיכם קודשא ("Lift up your hands to the holy place [on high]"). It was spoken during the ablution preparatory to prayer, or to the priestly benediction in which the ineffable name was originally pronounced. And so was, I think, the rather peculiar benediction over the bread (בא"י המוציא לחם מן הארץ), prompted by the verse of Psalm civ, 13, "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herbs for the service of man, that He may bring forth fruit out of the earth" (להוציא לחם מן הארץ).

Probably most of the benedictions over the enjoyment of some gift, or over some glad or sad tidings, had their origin in verses from the Psalms recited and responded to by the assembled brotherhood, which responses, in the course of time, became permanent formulas. Thus, for example, is our thanksgiving formula, recited in the synagogue after escape from peril, the ברכת הנומל, the summary of Psalm cvii. (See Brachoth 54b and Midrash Tehillim.)

The benedictions before and after the reading from Scripture were also intoned by the repetition of verses from the Psalms, parts of which are still retained in both the Synagogal and the Church Liturgy. (See Mas. Soferim XIV.)

The whole Prayer-book of the Karaites is almost an exclusive compilation of Psalms and other verses from Scripture. And so is the service of the penitential days, of fast and thanksgiving days, especially the *Selichoth*, or that part which strikes a similar chord of penitential

devotion in the week-day prayers in our ritual, and goes back to ancient times, the *יהוה רחום יכפר עון*, being chiefly based on verses of the Psalms.

THE PRAYERS OF THE FALASHAS.

Especially interesting is the collection of prayers which Halevy brought from the black Abyssinian Jews, the Falashas, and which forms a connecting link between parts of the Church and the Synagogal Liturgy, undoubtedly belonging to a pre-Christian age. The Psalms, with their "Amen" and *יהי שם יי מבורך לעולם* (the Kaddish in Hebrew!), the *Halleluyah* and *Kedusha* responses form the main part of the service.

Permit me to read the beautiful prayer the missionary Flat heard these semi-savage Jews recite as they sat down to their meal and rose again from the table :

He who presides at the table recites :

"Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, the God of Abraham, of Isaac and Jacob, the God of all men!"

The assembly responding : Amen!

"Praise and glory be to Him! All beings praise Him who giveth food to the hungry!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Bless us, as Thou didst Abraham!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Bless us as Thou didst bless the storehouse of Abidara!"

Cong. : Amen!

After meal :

"Blessed be God who hath gladdened us with food and drink!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Shield us from famine!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Shield us from thirst!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Clothe the naked! Feed the hungry!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Thou givest food to all flesh in due season and satisfiest all the living with favour! O Lord, grant to all who lift up their eyes to Thee whenever they need it—food, drink and raiment!"

Cong. : Amen!

"O merciful God, redeem Thy people, bless Thine inheritance!"

Cong. : Amen!

"Peace over Israel!"

Cong. : Amen!

Who can fail to recognize the spirit of the Essene brotherhood, with their legends of Abraham's and Sarah's blessings of hospitality echoed in these Abyssinian forms of prayer? An allusion to Abraham's blessing is retained in the Portuguese *הרחמן* at the close of the grace after meal!

THE PRAYERFUL TUNE OF THE PSALMS.

The main idea transparent in all these prayers and praises is the spirit of the Psalms manifested in soul-stirring responses, in congregational song. Hymnal melody, choral singing, the harmony and symphony of souls united in prayer and thanksgiving, lent to the ritual of old its beauty and freshness. The earth should resound with the glory of God, as do the heavens above, where angels sing the praise of the Exalted and Holy One. Innocent children were, therefore, especially chosen to sing Psalms in old Palestine (see Midrash Thilim, Psalm lxviii, and elsewhere), and among the black Jews of Malabar, in India, the children were first instructed in the Psalms.

